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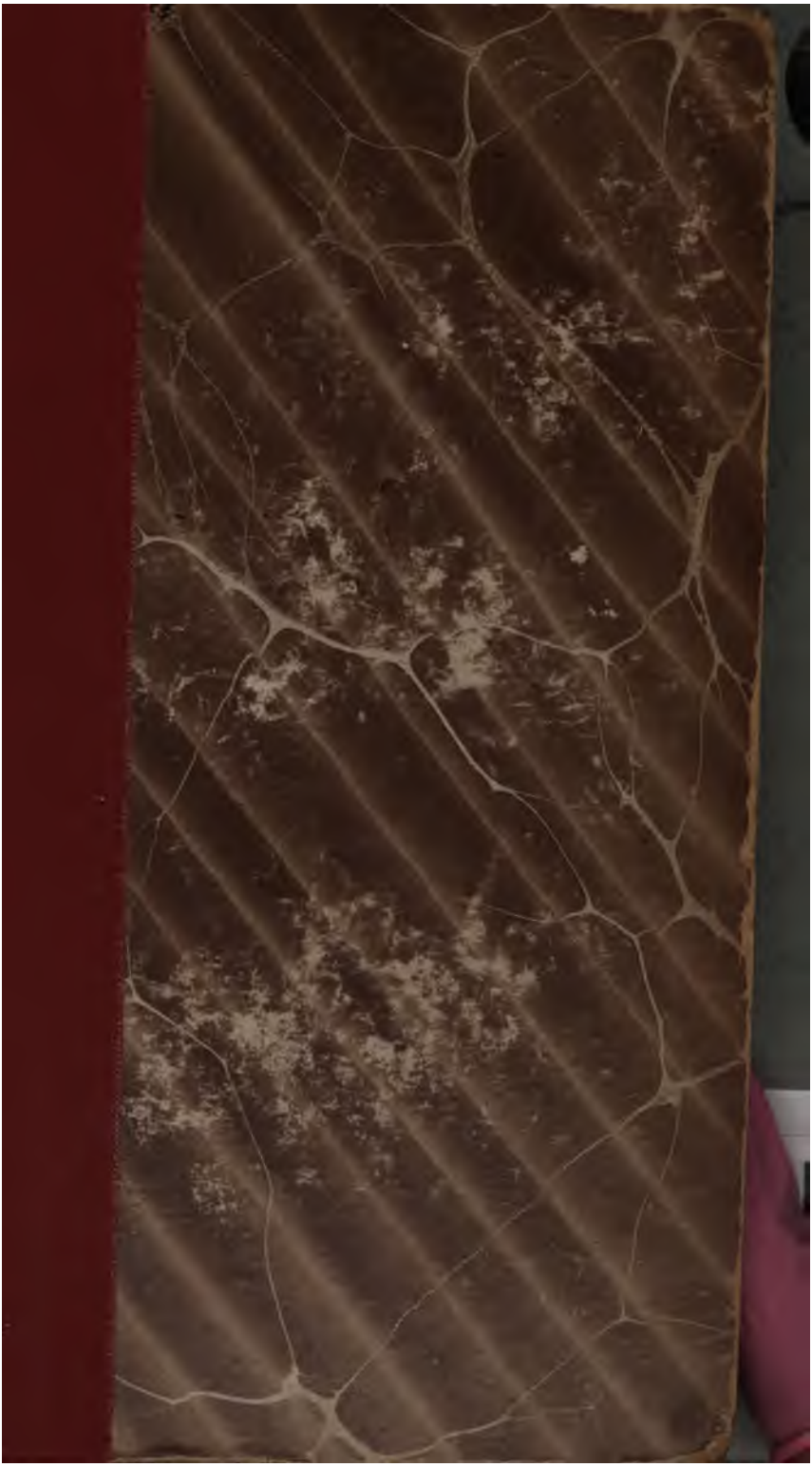

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HISTORY

OF THE WAR

OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

BY MICHELE AMARI.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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WAR OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

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THE first care of the Messinese, after the raising of the siege, was to reconnoitre the surrounding country, fearing lest any ambuscades of hostile cavalry might still be lurking there; but having convinced themselves that the entire army was withdrawn, they lost no time in sending orators

to Peter, at Randazzo, inviting him to come to the city; for they were impatient to hail their new king, who was indebted to them for their gallant defence, as well as they to him for his succour. Peter having returned a suitable reply, in which he lamented that fortune had not suffered him to measure himself sword in hand against the Angevin prince, immediately put himself in motion, with the whole Sicilian and Spanish army, in the direction of Messina, coasting along the northern shore, because he wished first to drive out from Milazzo a detachment of a thousand French left in that fortress either in the hurry of the retreat, or as a stepping stone to the execution of new designs. Halting, therefore, at Furnari with his troops, he the next day despatched John de Oddone, of Patti, to summon the garrison to surrender; and they, hopeless of succour, yielding up the castle with their horses and arms, passed under safe-conduct to Messina, and thence into Calabria. Advancing from Furnari, the King of Aragon took up his abode at the village of Santa Lucia.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 50. Montaner, ch. 65, speaks of the vexation shown by the king at being unable to encounter the

And here we come to relate an act of feminine vanity, or of more culpable weakness, because it led to important political consequences, and because it serves to develop the character of Peter. The second wife of Alaimo was Macalda Scaletta, who had been previously married to Count William of Amico, exiled in the time of the Suabians. After his death, having long wandered about in the disguise of a Minorite friar, and resided in no very reputable manner both at Naples and Messina, Macalda recovered her property under the dominion of Charles, and became the wife of Alaimo. She eagerly took part in the revolution of 1282, forgetting the favours of the Angevin king, or deeming that every private consideration must give way before the interests of her country. But she is undoubtedly deserving of condemnation for her treachery to the French in Catania, whom she feigned to shelter during the tumults succeeding the Vespers, and then despoiled them of everything, and gave them into the hands of the people. Macalda afterwards governed Catania

French. D'Esclot, ch. 95, confirms this, and states that Peter marched to Messina, with all his own forces and all those of Sicily.

during the siege of Messina;[1] and now having heard of the arrival of Peter at Randazzo, she hastened to pay her homage to him. Proud of her baronial rank, and of the great name of her husband, she presented herself before the king with much pomp, habited in mail and bearing in her hand a silver truncheon; and although she had attained her fortieth year, she still sought to conquer him by other means. But he, having at that time neither leisure nor inclination for amorous thoughts, feigned not to understand her, redoubled his courtesies, treated her with marked distinction, and himself re-conducted her to her lodgings with an escort of knights. Macalda, not taking the hint, followed him on his journey, and, deeming that the halt at Santa Lucia offered her a favourable opportunity, she came with much confusion and hesitation of man-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 43, 87; from ch. 91, we learn the age of Macalda. D'Esclot, who is as favourable to her as her fellow-citizen, Neocastro, is the reverse, describes her, in ch. 96, as "molt bella e gentil e molt prous et valent de cor e de cos e llarga de donar;" and adds, that she rendered as good service as a man-at-arms, and that she was used to perambulate the city with thirty knights. I have adhered to Neocastro, who must have been better informed of her proceedings, and states her to have been at Catania during the siege of Messina.

ner to ask shelter of the king, alleging that all the hostelries were full, and that the little village furnished no other lodging. Peter gave up his apartments to her, and removed to others, where he again found Macalda come ostensibly to visit him. He therefore, defending himself as best he could, summoned his knights into his chamber, and began to converse on general topics, amongst which, however, he asked Macalda what was the thing in all the world she most feared; to which she replied, "The fall of Alaimo;" and being further asked what she most desired,—"That which I most desire," answered she, "is not mine;" but the king, turning a deaf ear to her insinuations, continued to moralize and narrate, until at length his eyes became heavy with sleep, when she took leave, enraged at her defeat. When Queen Constance came to Sicily, Macalda never forgave her the fidelity of her husband, and her hatred and arrogance increased to such a pitch as at length to cause the ruin both of herself and of the grey-haired Alaimo.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 50—52. D'Esclot, on the contrary, ch. 96, affirms that when she saw the king in Messina, "que null

Resuming his journey the same night, at day-break on the 2d of October, the Messinese came forth in crowds to meet the king on the heights burned and wasted by the fury of the enemy, where neither inhabitants, nor flocks, nor any vestige of cultivation were to be seen. Peter received them joyfully, thanking them, and above all Alaimo, whom he placed at his side, and in pledge of his friendship and confidence revealed to him the suspicions concerning his fidelity and that of the Sicilians in general, which had been insinuated to him by Vitale del Giudice, a designing old man, who had presented himself to him at Furnari, despoiled of all he had in the world, as he said, for the love of the house of Suabia, to which Alaimo and those who now appeared such zealous partisans had at one time been the bitterest enemies. Amid such discourse they reached the city, where the priests, the principal citizens, and the synagogue of the abject Jews in those days by turns caressed and persecuted for their wealth, came forth to meet the king. Peter rode

temps nol havia vist, fon molt enamorada axi com de senyor valent e agradable, no gens per mal enteniment." But the malicious statement of Neocastro agrees better with the facts.

alone with all the pomp of a monarch; the streets through which he passed were adorned with hangings of gold and silk, and the earth strewed with green boughs and odoriferous herbs. Dismounting at the cathedral, he returned thanks to God, then entered into familiar discourse with the citizens, showing himself grateful and courteous in every word and act; praising the monuments of the city, and asking information on the minutest points connected with it. He then proceeded to the royal palace, where he was received by the most honourable women of the city, amongst whom Macalda failed not to appear; and she and Alaimo dined with the king at his own table. Then followed public festivities, magnificent from their wealth and splendour, and joyful from the cordial mingling of the citizens with the followers of Peter; the vows made to Heaven in the time of the siege were duly paid, and the whole country, says Bartholomew of Neocastro, breathed only peace, happiness, and enjoyment.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 53. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 18. D'Esclot, ch. 96. Montaner, ch. 65. Chron. Sic. of the Conspiracy of Procida, p. 274. There is no doubt that, in Messina and many other Sicilian cities, the Jews were in great numbers and held in high estimation in various branches of trade and

Within a few days however the toils of war were resumed, as the vessels of the enemy were seen returning in squadrons through the Straits from Catona to the various ports of the kingdom. On the 9th of October, James Perez, a natural son of the king, had entered the harbour of Messina with two-and-twenty Catalan galleys, and even during the first festivities Peter had caused fifteen of those which were lying dismantled in the port to be equipped for service. Having assembled altogether fifty-two vessels of war, he therefore began to harass the enemy, notwithstanding the inequality of forces, believing theirs to be discouraged and disunited and his own confident of victory. Turning a deaf ear to those who would have dissuaded him from the enterprise, he himself went on board the Catalan galleys, harangued the crews, blessed them in the name of God, holding out to them the promise of victory, and returned to land. On the 11th of October the Catalans, returning from the in-

commerce. They are often mentioned in our laws, as well as in many other memorials of the time; and from a diploma of the 24th of January, 1292, quoted by Testa, in his life of Frederick of Aragon, we find that both the Jews and Christians of Messina were much addicted to the occupation of dyers.

effectual pursuit of an Angevin squadron in the waters of Scylla, came in sight of another and more numerous one in the direction of Reggio, upon which joining the Messinese they put out with the fleet, and in the teeth of wind and tide bore boldly down upon the enemy. Charles, enraged at the sight, ordered out all his vessels, amounting to seventy-two, but ill-manned and ill-equipped, so that, alarmed at the skilful and daring advance of their opponents eager for the combat, they put back to land; while the Catalan and Sicilian vessels beating up under the forts, defied the enemy to combat, goaded them with insults, challenged them with their arrows, and not succeeding in drawing them forth, returned exultingly to Messina. Three days after, eight-and-forty galleys having sailed from Reggio in the hope that the wind would have driven the Sicilian fleet back into port, they were attacked by it so gallantly and so much to their discomfiture, that fifteen of our galleys finding themselves foremost in the chase, ran in upon them unsupported, and captured twenty-two of those of Principato, Pisa, and Marseilles. Those who, from the coast of Calabria, beheld the commencement of this

unequal conflict, (for it was near the close of day,) feeling no doubt of the victory, celebrated it by an illumination causing great alarm in Messina, which was increased the following day, when a cloud of sails was seen bearing down upon the port; but soon the colours were distinguished, those of Aragon and Sicily waving from the masts, those of Anjou trailing in the sea, and amid universal rejoicings the fleet entered the harbour, bringing with it, according to d'Esclot, four thousand and fifty prisoners. And at the close of day, Messina, glittering with bond-fires and illuminations, returned evidence to Calabria of the fallacy of her demonstrations of the preceding night.[1]

More generous, and grounded on higher considerations, was Peter's treatment of the prisoners.

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 53. D'Esclot, ch. 98. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 384. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 18. Montaner, ch. 65—69. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 41. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 212. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 75. Sicilian Chron. of the Conspiracy, p. 274. I have adhered by preference to the narrative of the three former, who recount these facts with little variation. Montaner includes three separate expeditions in his account of this one, which affords a new proof of the incorrectness of this author, who writing as an old man, and many years after the events he relates, confuses both them and their order of succession in his memory.

Two days after, retaining only the natives of Provence, he caused the rest to be assembled in the meadow at the gate of San Giovanni,[1] exhorting them to mark the difference between him and Charles of Anjou; the latter would have put every prisoner to death; he, on the contrary, sent them back free and without ransom to their homes, on condition only that they would promise not to bear arms against Sicily, and that they would convey letters to Principato and Apulia, inviting the inhabitants of those provinces to trade in the island, where, coming with peaceable intent, they would be welcome and secure. He offered to any who chose, to take them into his pay; while to the others he furnished transports and provisions, and caused a silver *livre tournoise* to be given to every man; so that they went home rejoicing to spread abroad in Terrafirma the praises of the new King of Sicily; the Messinese als oemulously encouraging them with prudent admonitions that they had nothing to fear from the Sicilians, who were hostile only to the foreign oppressors, not to the Italian

[1] This gate exists no longer, the city having been enlarged in that direction.

nation, which, driven by compulsion to the war, yet blessed the Sicilian revolution in its heart.[1]

Thus within the space of two weeks, the Messinese having been encouraged by these deeds of naval daring and success, the enemies deprived of all wish again to attempt a passage into Sicily, and the fire-brand thrown even amongst the populations of the mainland, on the 16th of October, Peter proceeded on horseback to Catania, that the face and favour of the new monarch might be known in Val di Noto. He himself, therefore, harangued, in the cathedral of Catania, a parliament, composed of the syndics of as many communes as could be collected at such brief notice; assuring them that henceforward the united Catalan and Sicilian forces would guarantee their safety, that they should enjoy all their franchises, and receive justice from the government, and reparation of all the abuses of the Angevin rule; for the happiness of the subject is, said he, the happiness of the monarch, and whereas they had

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 53. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 385. D'Esclot, ch. 98. Montaner, ch. 74, relates this fact with great exaggeration.

been despoiled by tyranny, liberty should now restore them to wealth and prosperity. He decreed the cessation of the collections, and abolished the odious rights in force concerning the armament of vessels, promising that they should not be revived either under his government or that of his successors; nor should either general or partial contributions be ever levied by the sole authority of the crown. The parliament then granted him the subsidies necessary to carry on the war, and for this purpose he returned without further delay, on the 24th of October, to Messina.[1]

The relative position of the contending parties was now reversed; it was the part of Sicily to attack, and to give aid and encouragement to the malcontent population beyond the Straits; that of Charles to assume the best defensive attitude he could, under the disgrace of his defeat, which he sought to disguise by writing to the magistrates of the mainland provinces, (that they might not give ear to vulgar report,) stating that after having fearfully wasted the country round Messina, and

[1] Bart. da Neocastro, ch. 54. In the Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, ch. 44, Concerning King James, it is distinctly stated that Peter abolished the right to naval service.

reduced the city to such extremity that even the suspension of the siege could no longer avail it, finding the winter approach, he had thought it best, for the greater convenience of supplies and security of his fleet, to remove his camp to a very small distance[1] on this side of the Straits, in order afterwards to return at a more favourable season, and with a still more formidable force to tread under his feet the horns of these insolent rebels.[2] He, however, gave the lie to these boastful words by his solicitude to guard the coast against all incursions of those whom he, nevertheless, designated as pirates; in appointing videttes and patrols; and organising signals of fire by night and smoke by day, to give the alarm at the first sight of our flag; for in fact, the Sicilian and Aragonese fleets rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and with the numerous gallions fitted out as corsairs,[3] carried danger and dismay along all the coasts of the kingdom of Naples. To remedy this evil, Charles gave orders for the immediate refitting of all the galleys and of a hundred *teride*.[4] Dismissing all the feudal

[1] "Aliquantulum."

[2] Diploma of the 29th of September, 1282.

[3] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 395.

[4] "Terida, navicella da riserva e da insidia—scoridoja—(Reve-

militias and the Italian auxiliaries, he retained with him only the French and standing forces, amounting together to seven thousand horse and ten thousand foot. He distributed them in strong divisions between Catona and the other maritime towns of Calabria, remaining himself with the strongest at Reggio;[1] and in order not to seem quite inactive, he sent a message of reproach to Peter, who was now returned to Messina.

The bearer of it was Simon of Lentini, of the Preaching Friars, who, confident in the protection of his habit, cast in the teeth of the King of Aragon the deceitful answer which he had returned on the subject of his first preparations; the war commenced, not only without a declaration of hostilities, but while he was yet feigning friendship and negotiating a matrimonial alliance; and the unjust occupation of the kingdom of Sicily, all of which Charles would prove to him with his sword. At these accusations, which

nue vessel.)"—I have usually taken the liberty of rendering "teride" transports, where that appeared to me the equivalent term.—*Trans.*

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 384. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 54. D'Esclot, ch. 97. Chron. of the Conspiracy of Procida, p. 274. See also Montaner, ch. 67, etc.

breathed of perfidy and treachery, Peter started from his seat, with hurried step and indignant mien; but, instantly mastering himself, he returned a well-considered answer to the effect that the murder of Manfred and Conradin had long ago declared war between him and the Count of Anjou; that he held rightful possession of the kingdom of Sicily, both by hereditary title and by the election of the people; that hence whoever charged him with treachery was a liar, and that this he was ready to maintain in single combat.[1] He therefore despatched two messengers to King Charles, with whom the terms of the duel were debated for a long time, because Charles, not liking to measure his declining strength against

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 54. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 23, 24. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 385—387. D'Esclot, ch. 99. Montaner, ch. 72. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 5. Diploma of Charles in Muratori, Ant. Ital. Med. Ævi, vol. iii. p. 651, by which, and others, I have corrected the errors of some historians, who state that the challenge was sent by Peter. According to d'Esclot, two servants of Charles, in the disguise of monks, conveyed an insulting message to Peter; he laughed, and sent back, as ambassadors with them, some honourable knights, to learn from Charles whether the two pretended monks had been sent by him; and finding that they had, these messengers settled that the duel should take place, and returned to Messina with Charles's envoys to stipulate its conditions. For these particulars, I have preferred adhering to Speciale, Malaspina, and Neocastro.

the King of Aragon in his vigorous prime, wished to have many companions in the strife, thinking that his adversary would not be able to find as many equally brave; while the latter, insisting on the single combat, offered to come without armour, whilst Charles should be fully armed, and refused the duel in Calabria, unless the Prince of Salerno himself were given him as a hostage. It was at length agreed that the two kings, each accompanied by a hundred knights, should meet to prove with their swords "on the side of Charles, as challenger, that Peter had entered the kingdom of Sicily treacherously and against right, without first declaring war; and on the side of the King of Aragon, as defendant, that the occupation of Sicily, and every thing else done by him against Charles, was neither a stain upon his honour, nor any cause of shame before any tribunal whatsoever, or before the eyes of honest men." Six knights were deputed on either side by letters patent of the 26th of December, to conclude the selection of time and place, who, having assembled in the royal palace of Messina, decreed that the encounter should take place in the lists in the territory of Bordeaux in Gascony, as being near

both to France and Aragon, and belonging to the upright King Edward of England; that the two princes should here present themselves, on the 1st of June 1283, before Edward, or whomsoever he might depute to represent him, or in default of either, to whoever governed the country for him; but that, unless a new agreement were concluded to that effect, they should not fight save in the presence of Edward, but should wait for him as much as thirty days, pledging their faith to abstain from all mutual injury or offence in Gascony, up to the time of the duel and eight days after. Lastly, they stipulated that whichever should fail to present himself with his champions, should be henceforth held "vanquished, perjured, false and faithless, a defaulter and a traitor, and fallen from the name and honour of a king." These terms were ratified and sworn upon the Gospels by both princes; and, as it was then customary to call the real arbitrators of the State to be surety for the kings, forty of the principal barons and captains on either side swore upon the sacred books that loyally and in good faith they would, to the utmost of their power, promote their observance, and that, if their prince should

fail in it, they would never more behold his person nor lend him aid either by counsel or by arms. Two acts were then drawn up to this effect, signed in due form by the king and his sureties, and given on the 30th of December, on the side of Aragon, from Messina; on that of Anjou from Reggio. In the latter, we read among many noble French names, that of one Giovanni Villani, a relation perhaps of the Florentine historian; while in the former we remark Alaimo of Lentini, the Count Ventimiglia, Roger Loria, Walter of Caltagirone, Peter, the brother, and James Perez, the natural son of the king.[1] The historians who

[1] The diplomas are to be found in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. pp. 226—234. Muratori, Ant. Ital. Med. Ævi, vol. iii. p. 655. Martene and Durand, Op. cit. vol. iii. p. 101. Lünig, Codex Ital. Dipl. vol. ii. pp. 986, 1015. Register of Charles I. marked 1280, quoted by Vivenzio, Ist. del Regno di Napoli, vol. ii. p. 353. They are also quoted by Feliu, Anales de Cataluña, book ii. ch. 17, and by Michael Carbonnell, Chroniques de Espanya, ed. 1567, who affirms the originals to be in the Archives of Barcelona, of which he was guardian. I have also seen one of them in the Archives of France, and from the number of copies that exist, it would seem to have been desired to give the greatest publicity to these acts. In perfect accordance with these diplomas are the statements of—d'Esclot, ch. 100, who gives correctly the names of all the sureties. Montaner, ch. 72, 73. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 388, 389. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 25. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 54. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, in Baluzio's Marca Hispanica. Chron. S. Bert. in Martene and Durand, Op. cit. vol. iii. p. 763, &c.

took part on one side or the other, afterwards mutually accused the two kings of duplicity, the Sicilians asserting that Charles sought, under pretext of the duel, to withdraw his rival from Sicily, that he might be the more free to renew his attacks upon the island, and to crush the leaven of rebellion in the mainland;[1] while the Guelfs accused the King of Aragon of equal cunning, erroneously attributing the challenge to him, as if, fearing the superior forces of Charles, he had devised means to retard the resumption of the war, hoping that the French would die off in inactivity from the effects of the southern climate.[2] Whether they really entertained such thoughts or not, both Charles and Peter were men to merit the accusation; but possibly the challenge was nothing more than an appeal made to public opinion after the fashion of the times, as a Charles and Peter of the present day might do by proclamations putting forward humanity, legitimacy, the balance of power, the benefit of commerce, or the good of the people.

[1] D'Esclot, Montaner, Neocastro, Speciale, *loc. cit.*

[2] Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, H. Fr. S. vol. v. p. 541. Brief of Pope Martin, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 8. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 86.

Peter dexterously contrived to obtain, by means of the envoys busied in the performance of those chivalrous rites, information of the condition and posture of the enemy against whom he was preparing to levy serious warfare,[1] which he resolved on commencing by the ravages of light troops, who could best reconnoitre the country, and would cover his disembarkation. Learning, therefore, from Bertram de Cannellis, on his return from the French camp, that two thousand horse and as many foot were keeping guard carelessly at La Catona, and moved besides by the prayers of the "Almogaveri," panting for battle and for plunder, on the 6th of November, after sunset, he caused fifteen galleys to set sail secretly from Messina, with a force of infantry, under the command of his natural son, to whom however he only confided his intentions in a sealed packet, to be opened when out at sea. The garrison of La Catona were thus surprised at dead of night with great slaughter and the capture of many prisoners, and the greater part driven to flight, and pursued as far as Reggio, by which the

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 386.

assailants exceeded their orders with much risk to themselves, as day was beginning to dawn; which rashness on the part of James so displeased King Peter, that neither the love he bore him, nor the victory and booty he had just obtained, could withhold him from depriving his son of the command; and it was only at the earnest intercession of the Barons, that he abstained from inflicting still severer punishment upon him; so firmly was he persuaded that nothing but the severest discipline could ensure the safety of these incursions, amidst hostile posts so numerous and strong.[1] Meanwhile he gained the town of Scalea in Principato by negotiations, and on the 11th of November, sent Frederick Mosca, Count of Modica, to assume the command of it. He moreover posted five hundred men on the extreme point of Calabria, who nestling in the ancient forests of Solano, harassed the garrison of Reggio, by scouring the country in troops,

[1] Saba Malaspina, pp. 389, 390. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 55, 56. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 19. Bernard d'Esclot, ch. 102, who adds the account of the gallant retreat of thirty "Almugaveri" left on the mainland, and the extraordinary feats of daring of one of their leaders. Ramondo Montaner gives a different and obviously incorrect account of this expedition.

carrying off provisions, infesting the roads, and cutting off all their communications.[1]

Amid these skirmishes, and the negotiations for the duel, the bloody year 1282 drew quietly to a close, leaving, however, behind it the seeds of lengthened wars, for which neither pretexts, men, nor money were destined to be wanting; for besides the power of Charles himself, the Court of Rome, finding its first measures ineffectual, began to back up its spiritual commands and diplomatic practices with monetary subsidies; the Guelf cities of Italy, whose ill stars compelled them to support the House of Anjou, sent also abundant supplies of men and sometimes of money also; and beyond the Alps were the warlike people of France, always ready to shed their blood. On the first announcement of the massacre in Sicily, the Prince of Salerno hastened from Provence to Paris, to urge his father's requests, and to compromise his differences with Queen Margaret of France, on account of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.[2] He

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 390. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 56.

[2] Diploma given at Paris, the 20th of June, 1282, by which Charles Prince of Salerno promised to bring these matters to a friendly compromise, in the Archives of France, J, 511, 2.

obtained from Philip the Bold a subsidy of fifteen thousand *livres tournoises*, and permission to levy about a thousand men-at-arms, who under the command of the prince, and of the Counts of Alençon, Artois, and Burgundy, of the blood royal of France, maintained in part at the expense of the Pope,[1] and accompanied by numerous other knights, entered Italy in two bands, between the summer and the autumn, and advanced upon Calabria,[2] which was the fighting ground in the wars of the two kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, and of which the inhabitants, from the similarity of their national character and that of their country, held rather to their neighbours beyond the Straits than to those on the mainland. At the same time the Pope consented to allow Charles, during the present perils of the State, to garrison the fortresses of Monte Casino, and

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 101.

[2] Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 541. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 217. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 62, 85. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 385, 392. Anonymous Sicilian Chronicle of the Conspiracy, p. 266. Genoese Annals, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. vi. p. 580. Life of Martin IV. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. iii. part i. p. 610. Chron. S. Bert. in Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anec. vol. iii. p. 764. Montaner, ch. 70, excepting the erroneous statement of the death of the Count of Alençon.

all others within his dominions held by ecclesiastics, pledging his faith to restore them immediately at the bidding of the Church;[1] and he, feeling himself more secure in those provinces, owing to the assistance received, departed, ostensibly on account of the duel, although five months were yet wanting to the appointed time; but in reality either because he wished to conclude in person the negotiations with France and with the Pope,[2] or because, finding himself compelled by the aspect of the times to moderate the severity of his rule in Apulia, his haughty spirit revolted against the idea of doing so himself. He therefore appointed his only son Charles, Prince of Salerno, called the "Lame," from a personal defect, to be Vicar General of the kingdom, and on the 12th of January, 1283, issued his commands from Reggio to the magistrates and officials to obey the Prince as they would obey himself.[3] He moreover committed to him the

[1] Brief given at Montefiascone, 9th December, 1282, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1282, § 27.

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 100. Montaner, ch. 73, 77, 78.

[3] This diploma is to be found in the catalogue of the parchments of the Royal Archives of Naples, vol. i. p. 248. Montaner, ch. 73. D'Esclot, ch. 100. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 395.

command of the army,[1] but first, by the advice of the Counts of Alençon, Artois, Burgundy, Squillace, Acerra, and Catanzaro, he changed the line of defence from the coast of the Mediterranean to the course of the Metauro, either because the enemy, holding the sea and the woods of Solano, cut off the supplies from the extreme point of Calabria,[2] or because he hoped to lure them so far inland, as to enable him to surround them with his formidable horse.[3] Abandoning Reggio and its environs, therefore, he encamped the bulk of his army in the plains of Santo Martino and of Terranova, and posted strong detachments in some of the neighbouring towns. Before he left Reggio, however, the citizens feigned such enmity to exist between themselves and the Messinese, and pretended so much fear, and such utter incapacity to defend the town without a French garrison, that the king consented that they should surrender themselves into the hands of the enemy without being on that account considered guilty of treason, and no

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 54.
[2] Ibid. ch. 57. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 391.
[3] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 21.

sooner was his back turned, than the inhabitants having recommended themselves by orators to the Messinese, offered themselves and their city to Peter.[1]

The King of Aragon had already completed every preparation for the passage: he had given the command of the fleet to the brave Roger Loria,[2] collected in Messina a powerful force of Catalans and Sicilians,[3] and summoned to the performance of their military service the barons of the island, who obeyed his call with alacrity.[4] The king composed his army of a small troop of horse, and chosen bands of archers, crossbowmen, and above all of "Almugaveri," light infantry, whom the Spaniards designated by this Moorish appellation. They wore a short coat, a leathern cap, a girdle, gaiters and coarse shoes (*scarponi*), but neither shirt nor buckler; a scrip slung over their shoulders contained their food; a short and sharp sword hung at their side, and in their hands they bore a lance with a broad iron head, and two pointed

[1] Neocastro, Speciale, Malaspina, *loc. cit.*; also d'Esclot, ch. 102.
[2] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 20.
[3] Idem, ch. 21. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 391. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 59. Montaner, ch. 75.
[4] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 61.

javelins, which they were used to throw with the right hand alone, and then trust solely to the lance for attack and defence. Their leaders, guides rather than captains, were known by the Arabic name of "Adelilli." This fierce soldiery knew no discipline and received no pay, but were entitled to all the booty they could wrest from the enemy, saving a fifth part, which was reserved for the nor did they contribute even this when taken in a so-called royal raid, *i. e.* regular warfare. Inured to hunger, to inclement weather and rugged country, and differing, according to contemporary historians, from the rest of their kind, they took with them as many loaves as they purposed to spend days in their inroads, eating with them wild herbs where they found nothing else; and thus, without baggage or encumbrance, they hazarded themselves to a distance of two or three days' journey into the enemy's country, attacked on a sudden and rapidly withdrew, more daring and dexterous by night than by day, amongst woods and precipices than in the plain, and almost invincible wherever cavalry could not be brought to oppose them. Peter knew well how to make of them the sinews of his army in the

mountainous Calabrias; and he had no difficulty in mustering them, because the Spaniards of the mountains were used to enrol themselves in this rugged militia, and it now appeared especially suited to the Sicilians, bred in a mountainous country, active, daring, and ready both in thought and deed.[1]

It was with such followers that Peter, informed of the backward movement of the enemy, was

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 390, 391, 396. D'Esclot, ch. 67, 79, 103. Montaner, ch. 62, 64. From these we find that "Almugaveri" was not the name of a tribe or nation, but of a species of soldiers, as we now speak of grenadiers, chasseurs, &c. The particulars of their mode of subsistence and irregular organisation are to be found in Montaner, ch. 70, and in two diplomas of the 7th March and 4th April, 1299, in both of which the family names show that these bands were formed of mingled Spaniards and Sicilians. Another diploma, of the 27th December, 4th Indiction (1290), shows the absolute want of discipline of the "almugaveri;" on account of which the King of Sicily had expressly excluded them from the truce he had concluded with the enemy, not promising obedience from them. In short, their mode of fighting was precisely that of the "Guerillas," who have signalised themselves in the modern wars of Spain, and their discipline infinitely worse.*

* This description of the "fanteria spedita" of Aragon and Catalonia of the thirteenth century, would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to their descendants of the present day. The scarpone was probably the hempen sandal which is now worn not only by the mountaineer of the Pyrenees, but by the regular infantry of Spain. In respect of lightness and elasticity it has no equal on a dry soil. Shod with this the Carlist bands of Gomez, and more recently the troops of the Spanish contingent sent to Italy, have executed marches which were the astonishment of the officers of other services. Gomez, on his retreat from the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, marched eighty miles in twenty-four hours.—*Editor.*

preparing to cross the strait, when the embassy from Reggio so increased his impatience, that on the following day, the 14th of February, he set sail for that city, bringing with him Alaimo of Lentini on board his own galley, among the most trusty of his barons. The citizens of Reggio received him so much the more joyfully that, the sea being now open to them, the long scarcity they had suffered was exchanged for abundance of every kind of provision. The troops were partly quartered in the houses, but these not sufficing, the rest bivouacked in the environs; and thereupon, the whole of Calabria, already filled with the fame of the king, began to send him messengers in secret. The first to declare itself was Geraci, whither he sent Roger Loria, and Naricio Ruggieri, Count of Pagliarico, the one to take and the other to govern the town;[1] while he himself being desirous of approaching nearer to the hostile army, on the 23d February, with a single mounted companion, thirty "almugaveri," and a guide, advanced by secret paths through woods and valleys, as far as their tents to reconnoitre. Returning to Reggio, he conducted his troops through the woods of Solano, to a distance of

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 59. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 391.

only eight miles from the main body of the French army and not far removed from their other posts, where he encamped them on a level spot, known as La Corona, on the summit of wild and rugged mountains, itself secure from assault, and offering every facility for attacks upon the low lands in the neighbourhood; and hither the Greek natives, accustomed to hold unsuspected intercourse with the enemy, brought the king tidings of their every movement. There he rested on the watch as quiet and motionless as if the forests had engulfed him, so that already it was whispered against him in Calabria that he was but a coward crouching down through fear.[1]

But one night, five hundred horse under the command of Raymond de Baux, encamped at Lagrussana, near Sinopoli, weary of carousing and without sentinels, were sleeping in careless security, when they were startled by a sudden noise, and the "almugaveri," slaying and plundering, poured like a pack of wolves through the encampment, slew Raymond unrecognised amongst the common soldiers, and retreated with all speed bearing off their booty.[2] Not long after, one

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 60. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 395.
[2] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 21.

Henry Barrotta, treasurer of Charles, bearing with him six thousand ounces of gold for the pay of the army, halted in the town of Seminara, at that time a post of French cavalry, eight hundred strong. Peter, being informed of this by his spies, was allured by the careless guard they kept, and still more by the gold; and hence, on the evening of the 13th of March he himself stole quietly down from Corona with three hundred horse, and five thousand "almugaveri," and having approached within three miles of Seminara he halted his men, and revealed to them the meditated stroke. The high-minded Alaimo opposed his purpose. What glory, pleaded he, could the king derive from nocturnal rapine and fruitless slaughter? it would be vain to think of holding Seminara, so close to the hostile army. Let them rather spare the hapless town, and advance upon the camp; there was the prince of Salerno, there the flower of the court of France, resting in careless security—let them attack them at once without hesitation, and such daring would be crowned with probable success and certain glory. History is silent concerning the deportment of the king, his words, which were doubtless temperate, and the feelings, perhaps fierce and sinister, which

rose up in his mind against the hero of Messina. He however persisted in his purpose, and marched on Seminara, where, while one detachment approached the walls, the watch offering but a feeble resistance, the others, making themselves masters of the gates, cut off all possibility of defence. The king, as if well acquainted with the town, spurred at once to the lodging of the treasurer, but was disappointed of the money, which had been forwarded to the prince on the preceding day, and then posted himself outside the walls, to repulse any succours that might be despatched from the camp, while the "almugaveri," poured into Seminara. Barrotta, an ecclesiastic by profession, but a soldier in manners, aroused by the noise, started up, leaving a woman he had with him, grasped his arms, and was slain after a desperate resistance. Others, defending themselves, were put to the sword; but the most part fled, some without clothes, some on foot, some springing on their unsaddled steeds; but so thoroughly disciplined were they, that, notwithstanding this sudden rout, at the distance of half a league the fugitives reunited to the number of about five hundred, and on the withdrawal of the enemy re-entered

the town, which had meanwhile been sacked and spoiled, though the lives of the inhabitants, who for the most part sought safety in flight, had been preserved by the stern commands of the king. At break of day the Catalans and Sicilians, loaded with booty, again buried themselves in the forests of La Corona, unmolested by the enemy, who had been tumultuously aroused by the tidings of the fugitives, but so dismayed and disheartened, that none would follow the Prince of Salerno, who wished to advance to the attack. The next day he sent a squadron of horse to Seminara, and learning from them that it could not be secured against a renewed assault, in order that it might offer no advantage to the enemy, he caused it to be abandoned even by the natives, whom he scattered through the other towns of Calabria to beg the bread of exile.[1]

By means of such secret movements and nocturnal attacks, the King of Aragon was enabled to occupy many towns even in the immediate vicinity of the hostile camp; while every day diminished the hopes of the French, who were

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 395, 396. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 22. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 61. And d'Esclot, ch. 102, with less minuteness.

thus consuming away without striking a blow. On the other hand, both the influence and the forces of Peter increased; the success of their arms and the abundance of the spoil raised the courage of the Catalans and Sicilians; for, according to a Guelf writer, they stormed towns for the sake of plunder, took prisoners for their ransom, and carried off cattle for their hides[1]—and even from the Catalan Montaner we learn how eagerly and emulously those hordes desired the most perilous expeditions in order to enrich themselves: heedless, owing to their courage and rapacity, of the strength or numbers of the enemy.[2] Already

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 395, 397.

[2] Montaner, ch. 70, 75. His account of this first Calabrian campaign is, however, very inaccurate. In relating how the "almugaveri," in scouring the Calabrias, ventured even as far as the enemy's tents, D'Esclot (ch. 103) gives the following anecdote:—An "almugavero," having fallen into the hands of the enemy, was brought before the Prince of Salerno, who seeing him small, ill-equipped, and of rude exterior, exclaimed, that people so low and savage could not have courage. To which the "almugavero" replied, that he was the last among his own people, but that notwithstanding he would measure himself with the best of the French knights, on condition, that if conquered he should remain at their discretion, but if conqueror he should obtain his liberty. The Prince consented, in accordance with the fantastic manners of the times. He restored his arms to the "almugavero," and summoning a gallant French knight, the duel took place outside the trenches. The knight taking his vantage ground, rushed upon the "almugavero," but he bounding aside avoided the lance, and with a firm stroke of his javelin

Peter, being master of the sea, had extended his line, and, invited by the inhabitants, had possessed himself of Geraci on the Adriatic, where he every day renewed his assaults upon the castle, into which the French garrison, commanded by one Guidone Alamanno, had retired on the first commencement of disturbances amongst the citizens, and was on the point of reducing it by hunger and thirst, when a rumour of rebellious humours in Sicily made him hasten his return.[1]

Queen Constance, who, so early as the time of the negotiations for the duel, had been summoned by Peter to assume the government of Sicily during his absence, had meanwhile arrived at Palermo from Catalonia with her younger children, James, Frederick, and Yolanda;[2] bringing with her, as courtier or counsellor, John of Procida, who, according to the records most worthy

in the shoulder brought the horse to the ground, then sprung upon the knight, cut the fastenings of his helmet, and had well nigh killed him with his knife. The prince gave him a garment, and sent him back free to Messina; and Peter, unwilling to b outdone in courtesy, sent back ten prisoners similarly equipped to the Angevin prince, saying, that he would always thus give ten in return for one of his own followers.

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 397. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 55, 61.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 62. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 42. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 25. D'Esclot, ch. 103, mentions the arrival of Queen Constance in April.

of belief, seems now to have come to Sicily for the first time, no further mention having been made of him since the plans concerted between him, Loria, and the King.[1] On beholding the daughter of Manfred, and the noble and comely appearance of the young princes, the people welcomed them with exultation and applause, being gratified at once by all these novelties and by the victories on the mainland. But many causes of suspicion and displeasure were springing up between the barons and the king. For they having bestowed the crown upon Peter, their pride, and his annoyance at the greatness of the obligation, grew to such a pitch, that no favour or reward was sufficient to satisfy them, while every trifling malcontentment appeared treason in the eyes of the king, and he

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 397. Montaner, ch. 59, 99, who is inaccurate as to dates, but minute in personal details, speaks of John of Procida and Conrad Lanza, as coming with the Queen. In ch. 97, 99, apropos of the coming of Constance, he makes mention of two well-known national monuments: the chapel of the royal palace at Palermo, which still exists in all its beauty, and was, according to him, one of the richest in the world; and the "green hall" in the same palace, where the Parliaments were held; and here, he continues, was a Parliament assembled on account of the arrival of the Queen, in which John of Procida was her spokesman, and Matthew da Termini that of the Parliment.

began to employ artifice to bring about the fall of the most arrogant amongst them. It is probable, besides, that some displeasure was excited by his imperfect observance of the promise exacted, to restore all the regulations of the time of William the Good,[1] to which indefinite and almost fabulous ideas were attached, which made them so much the more eagerly desired by the people as they thus became more difficult to revive; nor was Peter a prince inclined to make concessions, or to maintain privileges which might infringe upon the regal authority. Perhaps, also, the Sicilians were jealous of the Catalans, and of not having sufficient share in public affairs; so that some began to think that they had not exchanged tyranny for liberty, but only the person of their sovereign and the race of their rulers. It was natural that such humours should spread from the barons to those among the people who were the most enlightened, and should not be unknown to the king. It thus came to pass that, on the 8th of April, while Peter

[1] It will be seen in the progress of this work, that the constitution of William the Good was, in those days, the pole-star of the Sicilians and Apulians; also, how the Neapolitans obtained it by the acts of Pope Honorius, and the Sicilians by those of King James.

was besieging the castle of Geraci, a spy from the enemy was taken, who revealed some intrigues of the Prince of Salerno in Sicily. He confessed, according to Neocastro, that Walter of Caltagirone had pledged himself to put him in possession of the whole island, if, on the departure of Peter for Bordeaux, he would send fifty galleys with a body of French horse to any port in Val di Noto. This Walter, Lord of Butera and other fiefs, the most powerful chief in Val di Noto and celebrated by the author of the Conspiracy of Procida, had, on the first accession of the king, requested to be one among the hundred champions who were to go with him to the duel; but afterwards, either disappointed in his ambitious views, or entertaining suspicions of the ruling powers, his insubordination grew to such a pitch, that alone of all the Sicilian barons he refused, despite the reiterated invitations of the king, to follow him to the war in Calabria; which fact added weight to the words of the spy.[1] Saba Malaspina only relates, that the spy having been tortured before he was hanged, had revealed vague machinations in Sicily, and that these indications, joined to previous suspicions, led

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 61.

to the supposition of a conspiracy against the queen and her children, organised with several other barons, by Palmiero Abate, of a family originally belonging to Trapani, but a citizen of Palermo, a wealthy man, possessed of an extensive territory and numerous herds in the Val di Mazara, valiant in arms, small of stature, but great of fame.[1] The names are, however, of little importance, though it appears certain that either a plot really existed amongst the barons, or that it was supposed and bruited abroad by Peter because he feared it. At the same time he received the news of the arrival of the queen at Palermo, and Peter, his brother, came to seek him in Calabria, anxiously reminding him of the duel, for which the appointed day was at hand; and, as never perjury or breach of faith had disgraced the royal blood of Aragon, imploring him not to be the first to show himself a coward and a defaulter in the eyes of all Christendom. Thus compelled to return to Sicily and hasten to redeem his oath, Peter, burning with vexation and anger, desisted from the campaign in Calabria, abandoned the towns he had already

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 397. Palmiero Abate had been keeper of the Castle of Favignana for Charles I. in 1272.

occupied, and disbanded his army. That very day Walter of Caltagirone at length presented himself in the camp at Solano; a measure tardy indeed to cleanse himself from such grave suspicions.[1]

On the 14th of April Peter recrossed the strait with his troops and the vast amount of spoil he had taken, and on the 22d, the queen and her children, whom he had summoned from Palermo, rejoined him at Messina,[2] where, on the 25th, a parliament was called, composed of the syndics of the towns, to set the state in order before his departure from the island. The king presented his children to them with much appearance of affection, and thus addressed them:—"I am constrained to quit this country, which is as dear to me as my native land. I go before the face of all Christendom to confound our haughty enemy; and strong in the justice of God, to vindicate the honour of my name. For I have risked all things for your sake, Sicilians; name, person, kingdom; my very soul itself; nor do I regret it, seeing our undertaking crowned with success by the omnipo-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 62.

[2] Ibid. ch. 62. D'Esclot, ch. 103, 104, agrees exactly with these dates.

tent hand of the Lord; the enemy driven from Sicily, pursued and conquered on the mainland; your laws and franchises restored, and yourselves increasing in wealth, glory, and prosperity. I leave you a victorious fleet, experienced captains, faithful ministers, your queen, and the grandsons of Manfred. These youths, the dearest part of myself, I entrust to you, Sicilians, without a fear on their account. Nay more, as the fortunes of war are doubtful and perilous, I leave you a new guarantee of your rights: at my death Alfonso will possess Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia; James, my second son, will succeed me on the throne of Sicily. During my absence the queen and James will govern in my stead; and do you show yourselves docile to this paternal rule, strong against your enemies, and deaf to the wiles of those who seek new pretexts in order to betray you into their hands." Then turning to Alaimo, "Let my wife and children," said he, "be to you as your own children,—and do you honour him as a father."[1] The Parliament confirmed the succession of James, which may have been proposed by the king because desired by the Parliament and

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 63.

the nation, who would not suffer their ancient kingdom again to be reduced to a province of another more distant monarchy, and subject to a foreign people. Having thus obviated the principal cause of discontent, he sought, moreover, to strengthen himself by the merits and glory of Alaimo, whom he created Grand Justiciary;[1] but the other principal offices he bestowed upon his confidants, making Roger Loria High Admiral;[2] John of Procida Chancellor; and the Catalan, William Calcerando, whom he raised to the honour of knighthood, his "Vicar," probably in the command of the army. The lesser offices he divided, likewise, between Catalans and Sicilians, and decreed that, in the government of the state, no command should be issued without the knowledge of the queen. Having concluded these arrangements, he quitted Messina, on horseback, on the 26th of April; but before his departure, he invested Alaimo with the lordships of Buc-

[1] So say Neocastro and Speciale; yet it seems probable that Alaimo had already been called to the office of grand justiciary, and that it was now confirmed to him.

[2] Diploma of Peter given at Messina the 20th of April, 1283, by which Roger Loria is elected Admiral of Catalonia and Sicily, published by Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Celebres, vol. ii. p. 176.

cheri, Palazzolo, and Odogrillo; and embracing him affectionately, presented him with his own war-horse, his sword, his helmet, and his shield.[1]

By these regulations Peter, in good time, quieted the fears of the nation, and thus was enabled, without danger, before he left the island, to make sure, by rapid and decisive measures, of the few who still remained mistrustful and contumacious. He sought to give a nearer view of the regal authority to the towns which most inclined towards Walter of Caltagirone, and, therefore, commanding the Infant and Alaimo to

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 62, 63. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 25. Montaner, ch. 75, 76, 99, 100. D'Esclot, ch. 104. Where these historians differ I have adhered to Neocastro, who was probably an eye-witness of these events. It is certain that until the death of Peter, the regal authority was wielded in Sicily by Queen Constance, who was assisted in enforcing it by her son James, the recognised successor to the throne. We have various diplomas given by her; and this mode of government is further attested by a political Act of the time, for in the treaty concluded in June, 1285, between Peter of Aragon and the King of Tunis, (published by Capmany, Memorias historicas del Comercio de Barcelona, vol. iv. docum. 6 art. 40,) we read: "Which peace we, the aforesaid Peter, by the grace of God King of Aragon and Sicily, do grant for the kingdom of Sicily, in our own name, that of the noble queen our wife, and in that of the Infant James our son, *who is to be heir after us of the said kingdom*, by whom we will cause it to be concluded and granted; and for our kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia for ourselves, and for the Infant Don Alfonso, our first-born, heir after us of the said kingdoms," &c.

follow him, he went, on the 28th of April, to Mineo, where, hearing that the cry of rebellion had already been raised at Noto, at the instigation of Walter, by Bongiovanni, of Noto; Tano Tusco; Baiamonte, of Eraclea; John, of Mazzarino; Adenolfo, of Mineo, and others, he waited for Alaimo and his son; agreed with them to attack the rebels without giving them time to organise themselves; sent the two latter to Noto, and himself rode direct on Caltagirone, to seek Walter, who had not sufficient resolution to await him, but, pretexting to his partisans that he would not look upon the face of the king, who, though courteous to himself, was arrogant and iniquitous as a ruler, withdrew himself into the fortified town of Butera, and the king seeing him retire before him, and despising him, went on to Trapani, without further delay, to hasten his departure.[1]

Alaimo meanwhile proceeded without bloodshed to put down the rebellion. At the beginning of May he presented himself before Noto with James, leaving the young prince at a little distance from the city, while he himself advanced with only four men to the closed but undefended

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 64.

gate, and breaking it open, cried aloud to the people to hasten to meet their king. The people at these words crowding round him, went obediently forth to do homage to the Infant; for although they had been momentarily excited by the name of Walter and by the inflnence of his partisans, they could not as yet be very eager for new changes of government; and unless impelled by strong desires, the people rarely resist great names and resolute measures. Thus Bongiovanni, who hastened menacingly to the spot, was abandoned by all, and constrained to surrender himself to Alaimo, and lay down his arms at his feet. Tano Tusco fled, but being taken and put to the torture, revealed everything.[1]

Ignorant of these events, Walter still remained at Butera, in arms as if in rebellion, but unguarded and unprepared as in time of peace; when on the 3d of May the Infant and Alaimo advanced against the town with a powerful escort, and James halting with his troops on the banks of the river, Alaimo ascended the hill, forced open the gates without opposition as at Noto, and entering, exhorted the people in the same manner to go

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 65.

forth to meet James with demonstrations of joy and loyalty. The people, who were not much attached to Walter, but kept in suspense by the rumours he circulated of the departure of the king, and of the overthrow of the Aragonese dominion in Sicily, now on hearing the name of Alaimo, and being informed of the near approach of the Infant, thought only of how best to do him honour, and cursing Walter and his fables, some crowded to the gates, some let themselves down from the walls, and the whole multitude scattered itself over the slope, descending to the river. Alaimo, however, stayed not till he had found Walter. He dismounted at the palace-gate and entered. There about sixty Tuscan soldiers fully armed were sitting at table with Walter, banquetting and bragging when the gallant old man came forward, and frankly saluted the company. Doubt and astonishment closed their lips, and all looked to their lord, who did not stir, but rested his elbow on the table and his cheek upon his hand, and without uttering a word fixed his eyes on the countenance of Alaimo, whether menacing or terrified he scarcely knew himself. Alaimo had well-nigh repented of his temerity.

He remained silent for a moment, then resolutely addressed him: "Walter, are you dreaming? to the lowest of your mercenaries you would extend your hand, you would return his greeting; and would you thus receive in your own halls Alaimo, a knight, Alaimo, your friend? And as your friend more than you deem, have I come hither; for now behold in whom you trusted! Behold your vassals thronging to meet the Infant James, and conduct him hither in triumph! Up, then, come with me to offer him your homage also, while you have yet a moment left to escape from certain ruin."[1] Walter hesitated; he asked for security that he should not be dragged beyond sea to take part in the duel; to which Alaimo retorted that it had been his own ambition to be one of the champions, against the wish of the king, who asked from him neither aid nor counsel; and Walter at length bowed his wavering will to make a show of doing honour to the prince, who without believing him, received him graciously, deeming it enough to have quenched the first spark of open rebellion, and obviated or deferred

[1] This is the substance of the words recorded by Bart. de Neocastro.

that of so powerful a baron. After this, having shown himself at Palermo on his way, he hastened to Trapani where the king was anxiously awaiting him. Peter learnt the event with great satisfaction, commanded that the heads of the conspiracy of Noto should be punished with death, and that a strict watch should be kept upon Walter.[1] Once more commending his family and the kingdom to Alaimo, he set sail from Trapani on the eleventh of May, with a ship and four galleys. He took Palmiero Abate with him as a champion to the combat at Bordeaux, to gratify his zeal and warlike tastes according to Speciale; but according to Malaspina, in order to make sure of him by fair means on account of the political suspicions aforesaid.[2]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 66.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 67. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 25. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 398. The departure of Peter from Trapani is dryly mentioned by d'Esclot, ch. 104, and Montaner, ch. 76.

CHAPTER X.

FRESH PREPARATIONS OF THE ANGEVINS AGAINST SICILY.—ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SANTO MARTINO IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.—RENEWED CHARGES OF THE POPE TO KING PETER AND THE SICILIANS: PROCLAMATION OF THE CRUSADE; SENTENCE BY WHICH PETER IS DEPOSED FROM THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON; AND OTHER PRACTICES.—OPEN REBELLION OF WALTER OF CALTAGIRONE.—VICTORY OF THE SICILIAN OVER THE PROVENÇAL FLEET IN THE PORT OF MALTA ON THE 8TH OF JUNE, 1283, AND CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM IT.—EFFORTS OF THE POPE TO PREVENT THE DUEL.—PETER GOES TO CATALONIA AND TO BORDEAUX.—UPSHOT OF THE PROJECTED DUEL.—HUMOURS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.—THE SICILIANS OCCUPY SOME TOWNS IN VAL DI CRATI.—PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW ATTACK UPON SICILY.—LORIA ATTACKS THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES WITH THE FLEET.—ENGAGEMENT IN THE BAY OF NAPLES ON THE 5TH OF JUNE, 1284, AND CAPTURE OF CHARLES THE LAME.—INSURRECTION OF THE POPULACE AT NAPLES.—MAY 1283 TO JUNE 1284.

THE enemy now prepared for a second attempt upon Sicily, of which the plan had been matured at the papal court, when Charles, returning from Calabria, presented himself before the Pope and the whole college of cardinals to implore assistance.[1] The blow was to be attempted in the

[1] Montaner, ch. 77, 78, relates these practices of Charles at the Court of Rome.

summer of eighty-three, in order to profit by the absence of Peter. For this purpose arms and vessels were prepared, though less in number than the year before on account of the want of funds, and because now, in feigning gentleness where force had proved vain, they counted more upon the temper of the people. It would appear from the indications of the spy taken at Geraci, that the reactionary principles in Sicily, of which we have spoken above, were in some measure connected with these designs. A greater and more comprehensive reform of the abuses of government on the mainland was now brought forward with the same object; while the Pope exerted himself to raise up enemies to Peter, to frighten away his friends, and, in order to draw off his forces in another direction, began to menace the kingdom of Aragon.

King Charles, on his journey from Rome to Paris, had halted a few days at Marseilles, where he had charged his vicar in Provence to equip twenty galleys with all speed, man them with the best seamen in the country, and send them to Apulia, in April or May at the latest;[1] and

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 74.

returning himself not long after to Marseilles and finding the galleys equipped, armed, and manned to double the ordinary amount, he gave the command of them to William Cornut and Bartholomew Bonvin, both natives of Marseilles, William having sworn to deliver the hostile admiral into his hands, either dead or a captive.[1] In Apulia, meanwhile, the Prince of Salerno was arming ninety galleys and transports, which had orders to be at Reggio by the middle of June. In the month of April he had abandoned the ill-fated camp at Santo Martino, where fever and privation had done the work of pestilence in the French host, where Peter, Count of Alençon, had died greatly lamented, and where provisions and forage were difficult to procure, and pitched his tents on the sea-shore near Nicotra, in order to be at hand for embarkation; at the same time causing eight galleys to be refitted in that part, all with a view to the invasion of Sicily.[2] But

[1] Montaner, ch. 81. D'Esclot, ch. 110.

[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 398. The testimony of this very exact historian is here confirmed by diplomas, amongst which is one treating of the death of Peter, Count of Alençon, "carissimi consanguinei nostri," as Charles the Lame wrote concerning him. This diploma, given from Nicotra the 20th of April, eleventh Indiction (1283), provides that all the money

before the removal of his camp, the prince had held a parliament in due form at Santo Martino, of which some mention must here be made.

The prince on this occasion requested subsidies from the "prelates, counts, barons, citizens, and true men" there assembled in great numbers, (a new act of condescension of the Angevin rulers;) and they were granted to him in consideration of the reforms which had been already in the Acts of the 10th of June, 1282, ill devised and worse observed, and which being now again deliberated upon, with the nobles and the representatives of the nation, new articles were decreed, and published in this same parliament on the 30th of March, 1283. They began by openly acknowledging the state of abject servitude and poverty to which the kingdom was reduced,

required to fulfil the clauses of the Count of Alençon's will, should be furnished from the royal treasury. And such a disposal of money which Alençon did not possess, would also go to prove that he died in April, 1283, of illness, as affirmed by Malaspina, or by slow degrees of the wounds he had received, according to the author of the Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, in Baluzio, *loc. cit.*, and not in November, 1282, at the assault of La Catona, as stated by Montaner.

It moreover appears from some of these diplomas, that amid so many other exigencies, the Angevin Court was still compelled to furnish some subsidies to her troops at Acre and Durazzo.

by the faults in past time, as it was said, of the Suabian tyrants, and recently by the malice of the ministers and officials of the king betraying his paternal benevolence. Comprehensive favours were then granted or confirmed to ecclesiastics for their goods, their persons, their dwellings, and their institutions, which extended even to immunity from taxes for their hereditary possessions, and to the civil punishment of excommunicated persons. The burdens most offensive to the barons were revoked; the military service restricted, and every impediment removed to the marriage of their daughters, or to the levying of just aids (such was the term) upon their vassals. The privilege of judgment by peers was restored, and the oppressive services to the exchequer cancelled. For the benefit of the entire nation, the prince freed the transport of provisions within the kingdom from all custom dues; he promised a pure coinage; he forbade the spontaneous inquisitions of the magistrates; diminished the fine for murders which were not proved; permitted marriages with the daughters of those guilty of treason; and corrected the abuse of personal service, and the frauds of officials; he further decreed that the

exchequer should not claim possession except upon the decision of the magistrates; that it should not seize the dowries of the wives of exiles; that artizans should not be compelled to refit the king's vessels, nor the cities to construct new fortresses; and that the justiciaries and other officials at the end of their tenure of office should remain forty days on the spot, to give account of unjust exactions. With regard to the collections and other general or partial imposts, the prince decreed, that the citizens of the mainland should enjoy all the privileges and institutions of the time of William the Good; but, as the recollections of that time were now obscure, he trusted to Pope Martin to draw up within two months a statement of those usages; for which purpose he commanded that two envoys from every justiciary district should immediately present themselves before the Pope; and that meanwhile the cities and provinces should furnish no subsidies, even as a loan, except in the cases provided by the constitution. Lastly, he restored to vigour the recent articles of King Charles, and deputed inquisitors in every city and township expressly to watch over the observance of the present ones.

Such were the fruits of the Sicilian revolution to the people of the mainland.[1]

Meanwhile, Pope Martin, not attempting to conceal the fierce passions of his soul, hurled anathema upon anathema against Peter, his ministers, his troops, and all the Sicilians. From Montefiascone, on the 18th of November, 1282, he pronounced against them the excommunications already threatened, and repeated his commands to Peter, immediately to evacuate Sicily, and not to usurp the title, nor exercise the authority of king. He urged the already excommunicated Paleologus, with new adjurations, to break off all connexion with the King of Aragon; and, powerless to do more than threaten, he appointed a new term for their submission; giving time to Peter and to those dwelling in Italy, until the 2d of February; to the Greeks and others until April and May; after the expiration of which period the transgressors would be despoiled of all fiefs, possessions, and rights; their vassals absolved

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Napoli, vol. ii. Articles of Charles, Prince of Salerno, promulgated the 30th of March, 1283. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 402, 403, mentions this Parliament, but falls into error with regard to the time and place, confounding it with the diocesan synod held at Melfi.

from their oaths of allegiance; their goods and persons given into the keeping of such of the faithful as chose to take possession of them (such was the formula), barring the power of mutilation or of death.[1]

But he soon after broke out into exhortations to war and bloodshed, without even waiting for the expiration of the appointed term. "Let the Lord arise," said he in his exordium from Orvieto on the 13th of January, 1283, "Let the Lord arise, and avenge his cause, because of the wickedness wherewith the wicked provoke him every day!" then going on to speak of the recovery of the Holy Land, impeded by Peter and the Sicilians by their contentions with the Church,—"May God," he continued, "urge the battle against them; and we, by the Divine mercy strong in the authority of the Apostles, exhort all Christians to rise in our behalf, and in that of Charles our beloved son; and to whomsoever shall die in this cause we grant remission of sins, as in the wars of the Holy Land."[2]

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1282, §§ 23—25. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 392.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 2—4.

Lastly, on the 19th of March, he thundered forth his final sentence from Orvieto. He reproached Peter with his first armaments in Catalonia; his invasion of Africa with forces inadequate to such an undertaking; his missives to the Palermitans to harden them in rebellion; his perfidious embassies to the Court of Rome; and his treacherous occupation of the kingdom of Sicily. "But Sicily," continued he, "is an appurtenance of the Church; and Aragon also is a fief belonging to us, owing to the homage paid to Pope Innocent III. by the grandfather of Peter. We therefore declare this disloyal vassal despoiled for cause of treason of the kingdom of Aragon, of which we will bestow the investiture upon another at our pleasure." And thereupon he excommunicated Peter for the third time, and laid an interdict upon all the cities which adhered to his cause.[1] In publishing this sentence, Martin alleged that it was done by the advice of the cardinals, which, if not a lie, was at least an equivocation, since we read in the history of his own secretary that several members of the sacred

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 15—23. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 392, 393.

college strongly opposed it. "Of this," continues Malaspina, "it would be very difficult, and rather the province of a diviner than of a faithful historian, to discover the reason;" and also touching the Pope's claim upon Aragon, and his right to pronounce the deposition of Peter, he takes refuge in obscurity of diction, meanly endeavouring to combine the courtier with the historian.[1]

The Pope, moreover, laboured hard to dissuade Edward of England from the contemplated marriage between his daughter and the eldest son of Peter; denounced the latter as a persecutor of the Church, and the alliance as incestuous, because the parties were related to each other in the fourth degree of consanguinity.[2] By means of a bishop, who was in his confidence, he disturbed the understanding between the King of Aragon and the Republic of Venice, which being desirous to maintain the balance of power in Italy, missives had been exchanged between Peter and several of her citizens.[3] He consented that Charles should defer the payment of the tribute

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 392—394.
[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 36, 38, brief of the 6th of July.
[3] Ibid. § 39, brief of the 7th of June.

to the Church.[1] He exhorted the prelates, Templars, Hospitallers, and other military monastic orders in the kingdom of Castile, to take arms against Sancho, the presumptive heir to the crown, who had rebelled against his father, and entered into a league with Peter.[2] He liberated the Count de Montfort, the sacrilegious murderer of Prince Henry of England, and gave him the command of the forces of the Church in Romagna.[3] In fact, it would be impossible to record all the measures taken by this mighty potentate, urged on by the violence of party spirit and the consciousness of impending danger. The papal court did indeed tax itself severely, to aid the varying fortunes of Charles; it exhausted its pecuniary resources to supply his wants;[4] it saw Romagna scoured and raised in insurrection by Count Guy of Montefeltro; Rome more refractory than ever;[5] and whether true or false, it was rumoured

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 47, brief of the Pope of the 26th of June, and epistle of King Charles of the 23d of November.

[2] Ibid. §§ 54—57.

[3] Nangis in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 542. Bull of Pope Martin from Orvieto, 9th of May, 1283, ibid. p. 886.

[4] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 51.

[5] Ibid. § 28, &c. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 215. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 80, etc. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1188.

that secret practices were carried on between her citizens and the King of Aragon himself.[1]

The tempest thus invoked began to expend its fury so soon as Peter had quitted Sicily, when Walter of Caltagirone, recovering courage, at length openly discovered himself. He assaulted Caltagirone, in which the king's lieges were assembled in arms under the royal banner, and possessed himself of the town, after much bloodshed, which spread alarm through the whole of Val di Noto. But the news of Walter's treason having reached the Infant James, a stripling of lively and gracious manners, who was then in Palermo, after a progress through the north of the island where he had everywhere been received with regal honours, demonstrations of loyalty, and renewed oaths of allegiance, he, together with his counsellors, was greatly troubled by it, but proceeded forthwith to provide vigorously against the danger. Written orders were despatched to William Calcerando, the vicar, and to Natale Ansalone, of Messina, justiciary in that province, to go peaceably to Caltagirone, cautiously to collect men and arms, and then, by a

[1] Life of Martin IV. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. iii. p. 610.

coup-de-main, to make themselves masters, either by force or fraud, of Walter's person. This they effected; for Walter had neither judgment nor courage equal to his position, and the rebellion had not taken further root. With him were captured Francis de' Todi, and Manfred de' Monti; and all was done so rapidly that the Infant, who had followed on the track of his couriers, learnt the tidings before he had yet reached Piazza. On the 21st of May he went to Caltagirone, and on the following day Walter and his confederates, taken in the fact of open insurrection, and convicted by the confessions of Bongiovanni and Tano Tusco, were condemned by the Grand Justiciary, Alaimo, and immediately thereupon decapitated, in the plain of Santo Giuliano, the people shouting aloud for their death. Bongiovanni and Tusco were gibbetted at Mineo; and on the 27th of May, tranquillity having been completely restored, the Infant returned to Messina, amid the applause and rejoicings of the people.[1]

Here it was necessary immediately to equip the fleet to oppose a first attempt of the enemy, who, ignorant of the skill and success with which the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 75.

counter-revolution had already been crushed, had begun to show themselves in the Sicilian seas; for the twenty Provençal galleys had reached Naples in May; and taking with them many knights, both French and natives of the kingdom, and seven eighty-oared vessels, had proceeded to Nicotra to join the prince; who, seeing the seas thus freed from the Sicilian corsairs, and the navigation resumed by the merchants of Terra di Lavoro and Principato, who supplied his military posts, and feeling himself, moreover, strong enough to assume the offensive, sent the fleet, as a first demonstration, to cruise round the northern and southern coasts of Sicily; and if no other favourable opportunity presented itself, at least to throw supplies into the Castle of Malta, besieged by the Sicilians under Manfred Lancia, who having occupied the island, were plying their engines against its walls.[1]

Twenty-two Catalan and Sicilian galleys, under Roger Loria, were lying fully equipped in the port of Messina, when the latter received tidings of the hostile fleet, either from light vessels of his

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 398. D'Esclot, ch. 110. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 26. Montaner, ch. 81.

own, or from some barks from Principato, which, sailing secretly for Sicily with cargoes of fruit and wine, had fallen in with the Provençal fleet off Ustica, but had escaped their hands by feigning themselves to be bound for Tunis, and afterwards changing their course, had put to shore at Palermo, Messina, and Trapani.[1] This information giving a clue to the designs of the enemy, the queen instantly despatched a vessel of forty oars to Malta, bearing orders to the Sicilians to abandon the siege of the castle and fortify themselves in the town; while Loria spread his sails to the wind in search of the Provençal fleet. He followed it from Ustica to Trapani and Terranova, keeping always two days' sail in the rear, so that, on reaching Gozzo, he learnt its arrival at Malta, where the troops had already disem-

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 110, expressly mentions this adventure of the barks from Principato, laden with fruit and wines for Sicily. At first I could hardly persuade myself to believe that such supplies, but especially the wines, should be exported from the kingdom of Naples into Sicily, but the fact is proved by two diplomas given in Naples on the 2d May, 1284, (12th Ind.) which strictly forbid the fraudulent exportation of wines for Sicily practised in Sorrento and in Castellamare di Stabia, feigning them to be destined for districts faithful to the king. These diplomas in the Archives of Naples afford an additional proof of the information and accuracy of d'Esclot.

barked, and had proceeded, though without success, to lay siege to the beleaguering force in the city. At midnight, before the 8th of June, 1283, therefore, he set sail from Gozzo, and took up a position, with his twenty-two galleys placed in *échelon*, in good order, across the mouth of the harbour of Malta. This was the first expedition in which Roger had commanded as admiral, and the mastery of the seas was now to be decided between his men and the men of Provence. Disdaining, therefore, to attack the enemy unawares, he caused all his martial instruments to sound the attack, sent a boat to bear his challenge to Cornut; and perceiving that a hundred French from the castle were hastening to embark, he awaited them with all the appearance of indifference. The hostile admiral sent to reconnoitre our galleys; and encouraged by the false tidings that they were only twelve in number, at the first peep of dawn he rushed impatiently to the attack, with his own twenty-seven vessels.

The hostile forces were equal in pride, in courage, and very nearly so in strength; for if the enemy had the advantage in the number of vessels and of men, he was inferior as to actual

combatants, on account of his third oarsmen,[1] who were neither practised nor dexterous in handling their bows, and far less efficient than the regular crossbowmen, alert and unwearied, whom our admiral had on board, contenting himself with two men at each oar. At first they encountered each other with equal fury on both sides, with showers of stones, arrows, lime and firebrands; then Loria commanded his men to cover themselves as best they could, leaving it to the crossbowmen to maintain the struggle, which lasted thus until mid-day with much loss of blood, the one party pursuing and attacking, the other acting only on the defensive. But when Loria perceived that the missiles, which the Provençaux had wasted to little purpose, were almost ex-

[1] Montaner, ch. 83, 131, discourses at length upon the advantage of regular crossbowmen, and the inconvenience of third oarsmen who should act as crossbowmen in the fight. He calls them "tersols" in Catalan, a word which is rendered by Buchon in his French translation, (ed. Paris, 1840, p. 288,) as "rameurs surnuméraires, attachés en tiers au service d'une rame." The regular crossbowmen are called by Montaner "en taula," because the act of registering is called "taula" in Catalan. To these crossbowmen, unwearied by any other labour on board the galleys, Montaner ascribes the continual victories of the Catalans in regular engagements at sea; at the same time he confesses that a certain number of galleys with third oarsmen were necessary in a fleet in order to give chase with more effect.

pended, and that they were beginning to use as projectiles even things required for the service of their galleys, he vigorously resumed the offensive, and raising the cry, "Upon them, Aragon!" our men bent to their oars with might and main, and pouring in a tempest of stones, darts, and missiles of every description, bore down upon the now wearied and unprovided Provençaux, striking their galleys amidships, crushing in their flanks, shivering oars and prows, and springing sword in hand upon their decks. Such impetuosity carried the day. Bonvin could not withstand the shock, and with eight shattered and blood-stained galleys, rounded the extreme point of the harbour and took to flight. The remainder of the hostile squadron fell an easy prey into the enemy's hands. Only William Cornut closed in a desperate struggle with Loria, and leaping on the deck of the Catalan galley, (or Loria on board the Provençal one, for in this historians differ,) the Marseillais pressing forward in search of his rival, swung his battle-axe around him with such vigour, that scattering the crew on all sides, he found himself face to face with his adversary at the foot of the mast. He wounded him in the thigh

with a javelin, and would have finished him with his battle-axe, had not a stone struck it from his hand, when Roger, seizing the moment, wrenched the weapon from his own wound, and plunging it into the breast of his adversary, tore him through and through. Thus ended the battle, with a loss on our side of five hundred killed and wounded, and on that of the enemy of eight hundred and sixty prisoners, and more slain. Bonvin, halting in his flight at a distance of about five miles from Malta, caused the dead to be thrown overboard; and three galleys rendered unfit for sea, to be sunk, and with the five that alone remained of the fleet, returned to bear the mournful tidings to the coast of Provence, where was scarcely an individual who had not to deplore the loss of some friend or relation. The castle soon after surrendered to Manfred Lancia, and Roger Loria received presents of money, jewels, and munitions from Malta and Gozzo. Landing at Syracuse, he sent messengers throughout the island, with tidings of the victory, and despatched a vessel to Aragon to announce it to the king. He thence returned to Messina, towing the captured vessels by the stern, the hostile banners trailing in his

wake, and all his numerous prisoners on board, of whom Queen Constance sent twelve knights into Spain to the king, caused those of lower rank to labour in the Arsenal of Messina, or at the repairs of the walls, and threw Nicoloso de Riso into prison, the pious queen sparing the life which he had justly forfeited by bearing arms against his country.[1] But the admiral not content to remain inactive in the enjoyment of the praises of the court, or the applause and caresses of the citizens, and wishing effectually to deprive the enemy of all desire to renew their attacks upon the island, re-equipped his fleet in a few days, made sail along the coasts of Calabria and Principato, and presented himself in a hostile attitude before the very port of Naples. The garrison endeavoured to repulse him with their arrows; his archers in return swept the shore. He set fire to the vessels, munitions and marine stores crowded together within the port; then passed on to Capri and Ischia, took those two feeble posts by assault, and

[1] His capture in the battle of Malta is shown by a diploma of King James, given at Messina, on the 19th of July, 1286, in di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. ii. p. 500.

returned loaded with booty to pass the winter in Sicily.[1]

The two kings, meanwhile, were occupied in the west noising abroad the fame of the duel, of which it is well to relate all the particulars. Pope Martin, who, in the midst of his intemperate wrath, showed, in this one respect, both piety and moderation, had exerted himself to prevent it, of which proof is extant in irrefragable documents, which completely overthrow a fabulous relation of Giachetto and Villani, in which they state the duel to have been negotiated in the presence of Martin, the crown of Sicily being the prize of the contest; and Peter, in case of failure, declared excommunicated and despoiled of his kingdom.[2] So far from this being the case, on the 8th of February, 1283, Martin addressed a grave epistle to Charles, to reproach him severely, because of the great love he bore him, (so wrote

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 110, 114, 116. Montaner, ch. 82—84, 93. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 76. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 26. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 398, 399. The trustworthy d'Esclot alone relates this last expedition to Naples. Montaner, who is often inexact, relates it with some variations, and before the battle of Malta.

[2] Giachetto Malespini, ch. 217, 218. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 86, 87.

the Pope,) for the folly of the deed to which he had bound himself; for the sinful imprecations invoked in the diplomas; for this trial, not of right, but of pride and ferocity. Did he not perceive the artifice of the King of Aragon, who, with an army of inferior strength, decoyed him to measure himself against him on equal terms? Religion, he continued, forbade these single combats even to private individuals, much more to the rulers of nations; he therefore charged him not to presume to enter the lists. As vicar of Christ he would absolve him from the oaths by which he had bound himself; but, in case of his persistance, he menaced him with censures and every other punishment which the Court of Rome could inflict.[1] He proceeded to enforce the words of this letter by the mouth of the Cardinal of San Niccolò in Carcere Tulliano, and of the Cardinal of Santa Cecilia, whom he had sent to France in company with Charles.[2] In a letter to Edward of England, dated the 5th of April, he forbade him, with the customary menaces, to act as marshal of

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 8—12, brief given at Orvieto on the 3d of April. Nangis, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 541.

[2] Raynald, ibid. § 13; and Nangis, ibid. p. 542.

the field, or to suffer the combatants to enter Gascony;[1] and not long after he wrote to Philip the Bold to the same effect. But at length he ceased his opposition, either perceiving that he could not conquer the determination of Charles, or entering into his designs and those of the French court, which seem to have had an object deeper and less innocent than a mere chivalrous encounter.[2]

To Charles's solicitations the King of England, after some delay, replied that he would send ambassadors to him; and he did in fact send Godfrey de Grenville and Anthony Beck to convey to him a letter, in which he declared that, if by so doing he should gain both the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, he would not suffer such a cruel and bloody rite to be performed in his presence, or in his territory, or in any other place where he had power to prevent it.[3] He

[1] Raynald, ibid. § 7. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. pp. 242—244. Also Chron. of the Monastery of St. Bertin in Martene and Durand, Thes. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 763.

[2] Nangis, *loc. cit.*

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, diplomas of the 25th March and 5th April, 1283, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240. Here we read in the epistle to Charles:—"Kar sachez de vérité qe pur gainer teus deus Reaumes come celui de Cezile e de Aragon nous n'en serrions

signified to the Prince of Salerno that he had returned a direct refusal to Charles;[1] despatched the same messengers to Peter,[2] and finally, in order effectually to rid himself of the whole matter by withdrawing all means of rendering the lists secure, he commanded the Seneschal of Bordeaux to hold the city at the disposal of Charles and of the King of France.[3]

The two hostile kings nevertheless continued to act their parts. From Sicily Peter sent to entrust the selection of the champions to his son Alfonso, in Aragon, who enrolled a hundred and fifty knights, to provide against any chance of failure of the appointed number. They consisted of Catalans, Aragonese, Italians, Sicilians, Germans, and even of a son of the King of Morocco, who was disposed to become a convert to Chris-

gardeins du chaump où la susdite bataille se fest; mes mettroms peine et travail en totes les maneres que nous saverons qe pes e acord fust mist entre vous, come celui qe moult le vodroit."

[1] Ibid. The expression is having refused "tut outre."

[2] Ibid. p. 241.

[3] D'Esclot, ch. 104. This statement, which we find in no other contemporary history, accounts for the apparently contradictory conduct of Edward; in first refusing the field, and then suffering the lists to be erected and the combatants to come. By giving up the city to the French during the appointed term, the duel was prevented without any further trouble.

tianity should he issue victorious from the combat. Charles, on his side, caused a hundred suits of the finest armour to be manufactured at Paris, and, quitting the court of France, proceeded to make every preparation for the duel, or for its pretence; and, for the same reason as his adversary, assembled as many as three hundred champions, of the first hundred of whom sixty were French, and the rest Provençaux. Philip himself caused his name to be enrolled, and enjoined upon all his barons to be present at the duel,[1] so that the fame of it spread through every part of France; and every where the nobles were arming and mounting in the hope, if not to take part in the combat, at least to be spectators of it, and poured in crowds into Bordeaux, as if war were on the point of breaking out. Charles caused the lists to be erected in the plain near the city; they were of oblong form, encircled with steps like those of an amphitheatre, and solidly constructed of woodwork and iron, with two encampments fortified with ditches and stockades for the two hostile bands; they were at opposite ends of the

[1] This is mentioned by Nangis, and other writers on the French side.

lists, and the one near to the only gate which was opened for entrance or exit, was destined for the French, the other for the Aragonese, which gave rise to suspicions that the French purposed, should the enemy remain masters of the field, to occupy the gate from without, and having thus enclosed them within the defences, to put them to the sword. Still greater mistrust was excited by the general arming throughout France, and by the knowledge that all the passes around Bordeaux were occupied by French troops.

From Trapani Peter steered his course direct for Spain; for having set sail on the eleventh of May, his fear was great lest he should not arrive in time. To the south of Sardinia he fell in with tempestuous weather, and finding sailing to be impossible, he increased the number of oarsmen in two of the galleys, and leaving his ship, continued his course on board of them with only three knights. He gave orders to gain the island at all costs, in defiance of winds and waves and of the pirates who abounded in those waters; and replied to the admiral, Raymond Marquet, who conjured him not to expose himself to such risks: "No; whatever is in the power of mortal I will do, that

I may be able to present myself in the lists. My fate, whatever it be, is immutably decreed, and it is better for man to trust himself fearlessly to fortune, than to make vain efforts to escape from her." With such sentiments, after recruiting himself for a brief space on shore, he returned to his vessel, in the teeth of a west wind, which drove him within sight of the coast of Africa. Cursing the fates which threatened to make him appear a defaulter and traitor to his oath, he remained three days without food from grief and anxiety; but, thanks to the skill and exertions of the seamen, on the third day they reached Minorca. Here the king took some nourishment; he traversed the sea to Cullera, and on the 19th of May reached Valencia accompanied by only three knights.

Here, while still exhausted from the voyage, he learnt the suspicions created by the great display of force made by the French,—if with no other object, at least to deter him by fear from proceeding to Bordeaux. He reflected that he could not take with him an army sufficiently strong to confront them, but at the same time he was equally unwilling to fail in the fulfilment of his oath, or

to place himself undefended in the power of his enemies: he had, however, little trouble in devising a means of eluding the difficulty. He despatched orders to his champions, who were all in readiness in the neighbourhood of the frontier, that each one should halt in the place where he had first received information of the unfair dealings of the French. He despatched Gilbert Cruyllas to the Seneschal of the King of England, to require of him to guarantee a fair field, and every day he sent a fresh messenger after him, both in order to receive constant intelligence, and also to render the appearance of the followers of the King of Aragon upon the roads no unusual occurrence. He himself, with three trusty knights, Blasco Alagona, Berenger Pietratallada, and Conrad Lancia, on horseback, and without any other retinue, joined company with one Domenic Figuera, of Saragossa, a horse-dealer, well acquainted with the country, binding him to secresy by fearful oaths, and confiding the secret of his journey to no one of his court, not even to the Infant Don Alfonso. The king armed himself with a shirt of mail under his clothes and a steel head-piece under his cap, wrapped himself

in an old blue cloak, took a javelin in his hand, and a valise upon his horse to appear like the servant of the merchant, while the others disguised themselves in still meaner clothing, as grooms. Figuera, on the other hand, was richly attired and equipped, and treated with distinction; he used his companions roughly, lodged apart, and the king waited upon him at table and poured water for him to wash his hands. Thus, mounted on swift palfreys, which they changed at every post, they took the road to Tarragona; to the inquiries made of them at the frontier passes the merchant replied that he was travelling on his own business with his servants; and thus eluding all the snares of the enemy, they halted under the walls of Bordeaux, at noon on the 31st of May.

The king immediately sent Berenger, the son of Cruyllas, into the city to seek his father, and to charge him secretly to persuade the English Seneschal, John de Greilly, to come forth from the town, by telling him that a knight, one of his friends, wished to speak to him on a subject of importance, and requesting him at the same time to bring with him a notary. John went forth as desired, at nightfall, and Peter, feigning himself

to be another envoy, asked again whether the King of Aragon could come. Greilly resolutely replied that he could not; that large bodies of French horse were stationed in the neighbourhood; that King Edward had never guaranteed the field, and now could not do so if he would, even by uniting his own forces with those of Aragon, as he had already, he said, affirmed to Gilbert. Peter thereupon requested him to let him see the lists; Greilly conducted him thither, and then the King of Aragon, throwing back his hood, discovered himself to the seneschal, who conjured him for the love of God to save himself from his enemies. The king mounted his charger, rode three times round the lists, and halting in the midst, solemnly protested to the seneschal and to the notary, that he had come to redeem his oath, and that if the duel did not take place it was not to be ascribed to him, but to the perfidy of his enemies. He then had a protestation to this effect drawn up in due form, in which Greilly attested the coming of the King of Aragon, and the order given by Edward to consign the city to Philip and to Charles. The king left his arms to the English seneschal, requested him to delay the promulga-

tion of the occurrence for a short time, and putting spurs to his horse gallopped back towards the Spanish frontier, by the way of Bayonne. He reached that city weary and travel-worn, not having closed his eyes for three days, and from thence published a protest, sent letters and messengers to the princes of Christendom, and, in the anticipation that war would immediately be declared, summoned all such of his subjects as might be in France to return forthwith to Aragon.

Charles, on the other hand, who had been at Bordeaux ever since the 25th of May, being informed by the seneschal of the coming of his adversary on the very day of the duel, was infuriated at the tidings, sent off horsemen in pursuit of him (whose toil was, however, fruitless, owing to the start that Peter had obtained), showered bitter reproaches upon Greilly, and even presumed so far as to confine him in the palace, but speedily released him, on seeing the citizens rise in rebellion against such violence. On the same day Charles, with all his champions fully armed, remained in the lists until noon; and a French force, of some say three, some five

thousand horse, and some many more, osten tatiously occupied the outskirts of the city. Charles uttered a haughty protest, openly proclaiming Peter a defaulter and a coward; but Saba Malaspina himself says, that in his heart he was full of chagrin that his snare had thus been spread in vain; and d'Esclot relates, that he called his daring enemy not a man, but rather a fiend of hell, and even worse; for at the sign of the cross the devil will flee away, but against *him* there is no security; you deem him a thousand miles away and you find him upon you. At length, leaving Bordeaux on the eleventh of June, Charles hastened to publish in Italy an interminable recapitulation of the offences of Peter, and of the taunts and insults to which he had submitted. And thus the drama ended. All contemporary historians agree pretty closely as to the facts here related, though differing in some particulars, and endeavouring to lay the chief blame upon Charles or Peter, according as they belonged to this or that party. To enter into this question appears to me both tedious and useless. What is undoubted is, that both presented themselves on the spot, Charles accompanied by an overwhelming

force, Peter secretly and alone; and that Edward was not there, nor did he guarantee the field. The adversaries were bound by oath to be at Bordeaux on the 1st of June, but not to fight unless in presence of the King of England, or in accordance with the terms of a new agreement. Thus both ostensibly fulfilled the conditions of their strange compact and in reality eluded it, and hence each found pretext to throw the blame upon the other, which was in fact the sole object of both.[1]

The failure of the machinations of Walter of Caltagirone, the defeat of Malta, and the daring

[1] The whole of this narration is taken from Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 399—402. D'Esclot, ch. 104, 105. Montaner, ch. 80, 85, &c. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 67—69. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 25. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 44. Ptolemy of Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 7, 8, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1188. Geste de' Conte di Barcellona, ch. 28, Op. cit. Frate Francesco Pipino, book iii. ch. 17, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. Ferreto Vicentino, ibid. p. 954. Life of Martin IV. ibid. vol. iii. pp. 609, 610. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 31, 32. Nangis in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 542. Paolino di Pietro, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xxvi. p. 39. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 218. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 87. Memoriale dei Podestà di Reggio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. viii. pp. 1155, 1156. Chron. Mon. S. Bertini, in Martene and Durand, Thes. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 764. The manifesto of King Charles against Peter of Aragon, addressed to the commune of Modena, is to be found in Muratori, Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi, vol. iii. Diss. 39, p. 650.

incursion of the Sicilian admiral, compelled the Prince of Salerno to defer the prosecution of the campaign until the succeeding year, at the very time when having equipped some more galleys and transports at Brindisi, he was on the eve of embarking with the Count of Artois.[1] Charles, the degenerate son of his father, with that quickness of action which often characterises moderate intellects though distinguished by its results from genuine valour, all through his life exerted himself much, to effect nothing; made vast preparations to see them vanish into smoke; and now being fully intent upon the invasion of Sicily the following year, the first thing he did was to lose the very object which he had but a short time before laboured so hard to gain by reforms and promises to his subjects. Instead of remitting the old burdens he rendered them more vexatious by exempting from them the natives of Provence and other foreigners; he again demanded loans from the communes of Terrafirma, nor did their peremptory refusal bring him to his senses. He erred, moreover, in counting too much upon the blind simplicity of the people, when the deputies

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 115.

of the provinces appeared before the Pope to claim the promised reform of the tributes, and Martin, who played into the hands of Charles, pretexted doubtful precedents and the necessity of a minute examination, with which he charged Cardinal Gherardo, the Legate at Naples,[1] urging him to haste by letters as much as he in reality desired the decision to be delayed. Hence the humours called into existence in the kingdom of Naples, by the Sicilian revolution, by the reverses of the house of Anjou, and by the friendly demonstrations of the court of Aragon, began anew to work. In Sicily, on the contrary, freed from the unpopular energy of Peter, the people were soothed to tranquillity by the mild government of Queen Constance, and the year passed over so quietly that our historians make mention of none but external occurrences. Montaner asserts that after sharing together the glory of the battle of Malta, the Sicilians and Catalans mingled more and more intimately, uniting themselves in the bonds of friendship and relationship, which is an incontestable proof of good government.[2] It thus

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, brief of the 25th Nov. § 46. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 403.

[2] Montaner, ch. 84.

happened that the Queen of Sicily was able to attempt an expedition of the most daring character, which the Viceroy of Naples was powerless to defeat even in the very heart of his kingdom.

That winter the price of provisions was very high in Italy, and Scalea, Santo Lucido, Cetraro, and Amantea, moved either by penury or malcontentment, (for Scalea had been the first town on the mainland to give itself to Peter the preceding year,) offered themselves to Queen Constance, on condition that she would defend them and supply them with provisions, to which the queen readily consented; the negotiation being conducted by some inhabitants of Scalea, who, for murders committed, had fled their country and taken refuge in Sicily. She, therefore, sent thither eight galleys with a body of "almugaveri" and some transports laden with corn, which at once reduced its price one-half,[1] to the great relief of the inhabitants. The "almugaveri" having landed, began to invest the whole of Val di Crati and Basilicata. The Justiciary of Basilicata advanced against them with powerful bands of horse, and they having, according to their custom, laid wait for him in a narrow

[1] From forty to twenty tari the load, according to Malaspina.

gorge, broke his ranks with great slaughter, and pursued him as far as a castle belonging to the Bishop of Cassano, to which they laid siege. The Count of Modica arriving from Sicily with a few horse and still more ferocious bands of "almugaveri," Basilicata was harassed with yet greater cruelty. He took a few villages, and the town of San Marco, where he turned the church of the Minorite friars into a strong redoubt, from which he drove back with considerable loss Rizzardo Chiaramonte, and some other barons, who attacked him with great valour; an example not followed by the other feudataries of the kingdom, who were extremely dissatisfied with the Angevin government. It was in vain that, in May of the following year, another appeal was made to the feudal militias of the kingdom of Apulia, to march against Scalea, and that even some mercenaries from Tuscany were sent thither under the command of Roger Sangineto; for our party held their ground, and those provinces were exposed to forays, plunderings, and nocturnal assaults,[1] which

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 119. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 403, 404. The former speaks of the occupation of these four towns; Malaspina of Scalea only.

seem hardly credible when one reflects that on their left was the camp of Nicotra, on their right the capital, and that the whole kingdom was teeming with warlike preparations.

The Pope, no ways dismayed by the failure of the preceding year, but rather excited by opposition to greater zeal and pertinacity, now strained every nerve for the repetition of the attempt, even to the neglect of his own perils and necessities. For Rome was in a state of insurrection owing to the pressure of the famine, and the vicar of Charles closely besieged in the capital;[1] the pontifical treasury was exhausted yet the government was compelled to purchase grain in Apulia, lest the Romans should proceed to still greater lengths.[2] The Pope's first step was to renew the excommunications on the Anniversaries of the Last Supper, of the Ascension, and of the Dedication of the Basilica of St. Peter's, diligently promulgating them throughout the whole of Italy, and especially at Genoa,[3] where many of the citizens were disposed by their Ghibeline principles to assist the new

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 404.
[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 52. [3] Ibid. 1284, § 1.

dynasty in Sicily; and even the magistrates inclined to the same side, Philip the Bold having striven in vain to persuade them to league themselves with the Church, and with Charles, against the King of Aragon, and barely succeeded in extorting from them a promise of strict neutrality.[1] The tithes of the churches of Provence, of Arles, and of the other dominions of Charles, which were not yet due, he assigned to him for the expenses of the Sicilian war; authorizing the pontifical legates to compel payment of them from the bishops.[2] At the solicitation of the Prince of Salerno, after the defeat of Malta, he exerted himself to have twenty galleys armed for him at Venice, offering to furnish 5,000 ounces of gold from the apostolical treasury;

[1] Reply of the Podestà, the Captains, the Councillors and the Commune of Genoa to the King of France, in the Archives of France.

The king had sent two ambassadors to request from Genoa "favour, aid, and service," for the Pope and the King of Sicily, "uncle" of the King of France, against the King of Aragon, who had acted "against the Church, against the prohibitions of the Pope, and against the King of Sicily," concerning which every one knew how much the King of France was interested in the matter. Genoa replied that she had been at peace with the King of Aragon for 170 years, and had no cause to break with him now; but promised not to assist him with money or with arms.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, § 10.

but the prudent Republic gave for answer, "that she would never make war without cause either upon the King of Aragon, or upon any other Christian;"[1] and revived the observance of an ancient law, which forbade private individuals to take up arms for any foreign state without the permission of the Doge, and of both the Councils; a praiseworthy regulation, in accordance with public right, and with the law of nations, but which the Court of Rome regarded as an offence, on account of which the Legate Cardinal di Porto was directed to excommunicate Venice. Following the counsels of a sounder policy, however, Pope Honorius re-admitted her into the bosom of the Church in 1285.[2] Three envoys came, moreover, from the prince to Martin, again to solicit funds for the invasion of Sicily; and he, not scrupling to lay hands upon the tithes of all Christendom, formerly levied for the war in the Holy Land by Pope Gregory and the Council of Lyons, now furnished from

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 40. The brief to Prince Charles, subsequent to the event, is dated the 22d of April, 1284. D'Esclot, ch. 115, gives the answer of the Venetians.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, §§ 63, 64. Here we find the bull of Honorius, given from Tivoli the 4th August, year 1.

them 28,393 ounces of gold, no small sum for those days, entrusting the management of the greater part of it to Cardinal Gherardo, in whom he had the most confidence.[1] From some epistles of Martin, it appears that other sums were also furnished to the Prince of Salerno. The latter even went so far as to ask for the pontifical troops, who were combating in Romagna under the brave Count John d'Eppe, and Martin granted them, heedless of his own tottering authority in those parts.[2] Lastly, on the 2d of June, three days before the ruin of the enterprise, Pope Martin still further strengthened it by the publication of a crusade against a Christian people. To his old and thread-bare accusations he added, that Sicily was a refuge for heretics, that the inquisitors were there prevented from pursuing them, and supplies for the Holy Land diverted from their destination. He therefore commissioned Cardinal Gherardo to preach the crusade against Peter and the excommunicated Sicilians, and seeking only to collect numbers, to give the

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 40, in the said brief of the 22d April, 1284. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 418.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, §§ 13, 48.

cross to every man who presented himself, without regard to his nation or origin.[1]

Meanwhile King Charles busied himself in Provence in borrowing money and equipping vessels for this new attack upon Sicily;[2] and for the same purpose his son, who had remained at Nicotra until the autumn of 1283, left there the army under the command of the Count of Artois, and returned to Naples, whence, as circumstances directed, he visited every part of Apulia.[3] Above all he sought to collect money; for the sums swallowed up by the war appeared incalculable. So that, profiting by his father's permission to raise as much as 100,000 ounces of gold on the security of all his possessions and kingdoms, not content with the subsidies of the Pope nor with the general contributions of the kingdom of Apulia, he borrowed large sums from Tuscan merchants on the guarantee of Martin, and the security of the ecclesiastical tithes; and, when the pressure of necessity became still greater, he pledged silver plate and ornaments for small

[1] Raynald, ibid. §§ 2, 3.
[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 402. [3] Ibid.

sums; exhausted the purse of Cardinal Gherardo and other private individuals; demanded further supplies from the cities which showed themselves most tractable; sold the pardon of crime; again put a compulsory value upon a debased coinage; and, aiding himself by the authority of the cardinal, in a Council of all the prelates of the kingdom convoked at Melfi, he wrested from them a promise of the ecclesiastical tithes for two years longer, and immediately sent his commissaries to collect them; he also obtained aid in men, or a composition in money, from the military orders, and sought to raise troops throughout the whole of Italy, in Tuscany, in Romagna, in Lombardy, from municipalities and from individual *condottieri*, whom he assured of their pay with so much earnestness in words, as to show how greatly the fact was to be doubted. He demanded performance of their feudal service from all the barons, who, after presenting themselves at Naples, were to proceed to Calabria to join the army under the Count of Artois; and many he decoyed by new concessions. He urged the heads of the Guelf party at Florence to hasten the equipment

of the vessels promised by Pisa; and took Genoese galleys into his pay, besides the Pisan ones that were coming with his father's fleet. He entrusted the command of his naval forces to the Vice-admiral James de Brusson; and busied himself with extreme diligence in fitting out vessels, collecting provisions, and constructing engines of war of immense size, worked by Saracens from the Sicilian colony of Lucera, of whom he also took many, both horse and foot and mounted archers, into his pay; nor do we read anything at that period in the registers of the Neapolitan chancery, except concerning soldiers, munitions, and weapons for the use of the army. A new suit of armour was also manufactured at Naples for the prince, who entered with eager zeal upon the military career, in which within the space of a few months he met with so signal a reverse that he never again ventured to resume it. During the spring of 1284, the whole kingdom of Naples was filled with the noise of these warlike preparations, because, after the ill success of the preceding year, the Angevin rulers, having less confidence in popular feeling, had again recourse to overwhelming military force, as in 1282;

although Charles still continued his practices with a few of the Sicilian barons, which, however, were as ineffectual as the counter-revolutionary feeling was weak in Sicily. Nevertheless, the enemy, fearing some attack from our adventurous fleet ere he had completed his preparations, used at this period the utmost vigilance in guarding the coasts of the mainland. His intention was to make himself complete master of the sea by the destruction of our naval force, if it ventured to show itself, and if not, by blockading it in the ports; and then disembarking the troops on the island, not as formerly to sit down before fortified places, but to waste the country, burn the crops, cut off all communication between the cities, and thus isolated, compel them to surrender. Charles forbade his son to attempt any expedition until he should have arrived from Provence with the fleet.[1] The prince had thirty galleys in readiness at Naples, and forty at Brindisi. And within a few days, the two divisions having effected a junction at Ustica,[2] a hundred vessels of war with a much greater number of transports would be able to pour their overwhelming forces upon Sicily.

[1] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 27. [2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 76.

The Chancellor, John of Procida, however, received timely warning from some of the many informers whom he employed on the mainland to watch the proceedings of the enemy. The queen's council met to consider the importance of the crisis; the king was away, the army unprepared, the fleet small; in this perplexity the council determined to adopt the daring resolution which alone offered a chance of safety; that, namely, of boldly attacking the enemy before he could unite his forces. For this purpose thirty-four galleys and several lesser vessels were hastily fitted out in the port of Messina with the greatest care, and manned with select companies of Catalans and Sicilians provided with arms of the best quality. When the fleet was in readiness, Constance summoned to her presence, with the inferior captains and pilots, the admiral, who was her foster-brother, and had been educated at her court. In forcible and earnest words she reminded him of the constant affection shown him by the reigning house of Aragon; that her all depended upon this fleet; and that she committed the honour of the king, the crown, herself and her children to God alone and to Roger Loria. At

these words, the admiral knelt at her feet, and placing his hands in those of the queen, according to the form of feudal homage, he replied: "Never has the royal standard of Aragon been vanquished, nor shall it be so to-day; for this, O Queen, place your trust in the Almighty." The other warriors repeated the same oath, even with tears; after which Constance dismissed them. The people cheered them as they left the port, and prayed to God and to the Virgin Mother to grant them victory. The admiral gave orders to put to shore at no great distance; there he reviewed his troops and crews, and harangued them with military brevity, to the effect that within a fortnight a great battle would be fought; that they were advancing to the attack of two fleets, one lying in readiness in the port of Naples, the other coming from the west. "They are seventy galleys," said he in conclusion, "but, warriors, armed as we are, we need not fear a hundred." And in reply, the men cried with one voice, "Forward, forward, the victory is ours!" Coasting the Calabrias they entered the gulf of Salerno, and hence arose a report in Naples that Peter, having suddenly returned from Aragon with his whole

fleet, was sweeping the waters of Principato. A Genoese, named Navarro, was therefore despatched in a sixty-oared vessel to reconnoitre,[1] and he brought back another false report, that the fleet, which he had hastily observed from a distance, consisted only of twenty galleys, and a few barks. On his return, he vaunted the ship and twenty-eight galleys of the prince as more than sufficient to oppose them, so that the young Charles, whose pride was aroused, gave orders to go forth against the enemy. But the Neapolitans, with whom he was by no means popular, refused to arm themselves at his bidding.

Roger, meanwhile, was cautiously manœuvring outside the Bay of Naples, not knowing where Charles might be with the Provençal fleet, and watching his opportunity to fall either upon him or upon the prince. He therefore anchored at Capri, meditating first a demonstration against Baia, and then to approach the port in hopes of inducing the prince to come out and give battle at a disadvantage; or if he failed in this, purposing

[1] This particular is recorded by d'Esclot. His accuracy is proved by the fact that a diploma of the 20th June, 1284, shows the vessel of this Genoese, Navarro, to have been in the pay of the Neapolitan government.

to shape his course as if for Sicily, then in the night to turn towards Ponza, and there in the channel to lie in wait for the king's fleet. But no vessel came forth from the port of Naples, notwithstanding his depredations amongst the islands and along the shore, wasting the cultivated lands, and exacting tribute from, or sacking the towns; and a bark belonging to king Charles having fallen into his hands, from which he learnt that the king, with thirty Provençal and ten Pisan galleys, was within a distance of about one or two days' ordinary sailing, Loria perceived the dreaded union of the two hostile fleets to be impending, took counsel with the most experienced of his captains, and resolved, immediately, at whatever cost, to give battle to the prince. Coming to Nisita by night, Roger captured two Gaetan galleys, in those waters, and armed them on his own side, dividing the prisoners throughout the whole fleet, which amounted to six and thirty galleys, besides the lighter craft. He sent the Catalan, John Alberto, with a bark to reconnoitre the fleet at Naples, and thus ascertained its real numbers, and also that the whole coast was glittering with arms and fires. At break of day

he appeared in an attitude of ostentatious menace at La Gaiola, outside the promontory of Posilipo.

It was the 5th of June, 1284. The feelings of all in Naples were so excited by the depredations and outrages committed during the previous days by our forces; by the exertions of the nobles, who sided with the Court; and by the arrogance of the hostile demonstrations, that, learning on the same night the arrival of the Sicilian fleet at Nisita, the people imbued with unwonted daring, demanded to be led to battle; the tocsin sounded; French, Apulians, knights, and artizans, grasped their arms, and rushed to the vessels in such haste as nearly to capsize them. The nobles, some wishing, says Saba Malaspina, to make a show of fidelity, others of valour, counselled the battle; and above all, the Count d'Acerra, the favourite of Prince Charles, urged him to embark in person, in order further to encourage the combatants. Consequently he turned a deaf ear both to the arguments and the authority of Cardinal Gherardo, who remembering the tremendous conflicts of Messina, admonished him to be cautious in encountering the Sicilians, to

obey the commands of his father by awaiting the fleet, and with it certain victory, and not to throw himself into the snare spread for him by Roger Loria. But still further piqued by these words, the prince only made the greater haste to embark; first, however, giving orders to have a splendid banquet prepared at Court to celebrate the victory. With him were James de Brusson, Vice-admiral, William l'Estendard, Rainald Galard, the Counts of Brienne, Montpellier, and Acerra, Friar James of Lagonessa, and several other barons. Their galleys amounted to twenty-eight or thirty, all furnished by the kingdom of Naples, the greater part being manned by natives of the kingdom, a few only by Provençaux and French.

Loria now, as if in flight, stood across to Castellamare, either to obtain the advantage of the sun, or to decoy the enemy out to sea, causing their ranks to become disordered in the pursuit; and with great noise and shouting they proceeded to give chase. Darting a-head of all the rest came two galleys, commanded by Richard Riso and Henry Nizza, two renegade Sicilians, who called aloud to Loria, crying: "Oh, Hero,

whither would you fly? But in vain you seek to escape. Behold! here are the fetters that await you,"—and they held chains aloft to show him. Our mariners meanwhile plied their oars in silence. At a distance of four leagues they halted, and wore round; the admiral traversed the fleet in a boat to encourage the men. "Look at them," said he; "already they have thrown themselves into confusion; they either never before saw the sea, or never beheld the clash of arms. Let them shout, but we will strike." He then commanded twenty galleys to place themselves close together in order of battle; he bade the oars be shipped, and the decks cleared, and ranged the archers upon them; of the remainder of the vessels he formed a reserve, with orders not to join in the conflict except in case of urgent necessity. This done, the trumpets sounded, the war-cry of "Aragon and Sicily!" was raised, and our fleet bore down upon the enemy already surprised and disconcerted by this sudden change of tactics.

In an instant their ranks were broken, for eighteen galleys from Naples, Sorrento, and Principato took to flight, without awaiting the

onset, leaving the prince with his own galley, four from Naples, two from Gaeta, one from Salerno, one from Vico, and one from Scio, to contend for honour, but no longer for victory. The French, though unaccustomed to the sea, fought with undaunted courage. More numerous, and expert in the management of vessels, the Catalans and Sicilians struck the hostile galleys with their prows, shattered the oars of the enemy, threw fire on their decks, soap and tallow on the benches of the oarsmen, and lime-powder in their eyes, and showered down upon them stones and arrows. Yet was it long before their resistance could be conquered. The slaughter became general; and the greater part of the gallant French knights having been slain, numbers carried the day. The galley of the prince remained alone, surrounded and disabled; her prow and half her decks occupied by the hostile forces: but a handful of the bravest, forming a close circle round the prince, who, small and lame, could ill defend himself, performed prodigies of valour, and above all Galard, a man of Herculean strength, who dealt wounds and death around him at every blow, or hurled his adversaries over-

board by main force. At sight of such determined resistance, Loria commanded the galley to be sunk, and some of his followers who had boarded her, strove to pierce her with stakes. One Pagano, a trumpeter and expert diver, plunged into the sea, to perforate her sides with an iron bar. Pierced in six different places, the galley was already beginning to sink; the sailors gave the alarm, but were unheard by the combatants. Galard paused at length:—"Save us," he exclaimed, "for the fortune of the day is yours; the prince and the noblest swords of France here surrender themselves to you!" L'Estendard, shouting aloud, demanded that the person of the prince be held sacred. Charles, taking off his sword, inquired of his adversaries, "Which among you is a knight?" and the admiral having answered, he gave it up to him; at the same time accepting the hand which Roger held out to aid him to spring upon his galley, for the other was sinking fast. Nine galleys were captured, one of which taking to flight with great speed, Roger despatched a Catalan vessel, commanded by Natale Pancia, in pursuit of her; and thinking that the rowers were pausing for breath, he

threatened to have them all blinded if they did not bring back the hostile galley; so that by superhuman exertions, they succeeded in overtaking her; knowing Roger to be a man capable of fulfilling his cruel menace—great at once in his virtues and in his vices, of dauntless valour and brutal ferocity.[1]

The battle was followed by a laughable episode. Roger had treated the prince with great honour, and the latter, richly armed and surrounded by

[1] This account of the battle is taken from the following contemporary historians, who differ but little between themselves:—Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 76, 77. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 27. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 404—408. D'Esclot, ch. 119—127. Anonymous Diary in the Raccolta di Cronache del Regno di Napoli, printed by Perger, vol. i. p. 109. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 93. Memoriale de' Podestà di Reggio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. viii. pp. 1157, 1158. Chron. S. Bert. in Martene and Durand, Thes. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 764. Nangis, Gesta Philippi III. in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 543. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, in Baluzio's Marca Hispanica. Montaner, ch. 113. Chronicle of Parma, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 812. And most of the other contemporary historians, who relate the event without any details. These writers state the numbers of the vessels very variously. I have adhered to the account of the Catalan d'Esclot, because he is very minute in his particulars, and little given to exaggeration. These facts are also attested by numerous diplomas, amongst them some providing for the administration of the property of the counts and barons slain, or captured with Charles, in this battle, and one granting subsidies to the wives of the prisoners, Rainald Galard, James de Brusson, and William l'Estendard.

numerous knights, was seated on board the admiral's galley, when a boat from Sorrento came alongside with envoys from the municipal authorities: who, mistaking him for the admiral, presented him with four baskets of early figs, and two hundred augustals of gold "for a suit of hose; and would to God," they continued, "that as you have taken the son, so you had taken the father also; and be it known to you that we were the first to turn." The prince smiled, and said to Loria, "By God, what faithful subjects are these to the king!"[1] But while lamenting the disloyalty of the vassals, the young Charles forgot who had been the first to infringe the social compact; he forgot the avarice, the cruelty and arrogance, and the ill-advised and brutal tyranny of his government.

In the Castel dell' Uovo[2] there were sounds of

[1] Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 93.

[2] Saba Malaspina says, "Castrum ad Mare," and that the Princess ascended "scopulum castri." D'Esclot also speaks of "Castello di San Salvatore al Mare," and leads us to suppose that there was the prison of Beatrice. Montaner states her to have been confined in the Castel dell' Uovo. These statements combined, leave no doubt that the former also meant to speak of the Castel dell' Uovo, which rises in the form of a peninsula, on a lofty rock in the midst of the sea.

weeping in the chamber of the princess, who had ascended to the top of the highest tower as soon as Charles weighed anchor, and, keeping her eyes fixed upon the fleet, had beheld the encounter, the flight, and the disappearance of the prince's ship, and seemed unable to withdraw her gaze even when the Neapolitan fleet was dispersed and night had closed in. The cardinal joined her with a pale and anxious countenance, alarmed by the menacing aspect of the people; and together their thoughts dwelt upon the gallant warriors, now fearing them slain, now hoping them still alive though captive, when two Sicilian galleys stood into the port with a letter from the prince; from whom, alarmed as he was for his fate in so merciless a war, the admiral had demanded the immediate liberation of Beatrice, the young and beautiful orphan daughter of Manfred, who passed from her cradle to a prison in which Charles had kept her as it were buried alive. The prince wrote therefore to desire that the damsel should be instantly given up, and the Sicilians added, that were this not done, they would then and there cut off his head on board the galley, in full view of Naples. The princess

thereupon hastened to seek Beatrice, to present her with jewels and feminine adornments, and, throwing herself at her feet, to conjure her in God's name to save the life of her husband. Beatrice was conveyed to the fleet with distinguished honours, and then all sails were set. At the Straits of Capri, Riso and Nizza were beheaded as traitors on board the galley of Loria; and the fleet returned to the port of Messina.[1]

Here, when the sails were first descried, the whole population, of all ages and sexes, crowded down to the shore in trepidation and anxiety; which, on beholding the signals of victory and the galleys, taken from the enemy, and learning the capture of the Prince of Salerno with so great a number of barons, gave place to indescribable rejoicings. When the crowd of prisoners was disembarked, they were, as is too apt to be the case in all countries, insulted by the populace, who all called to mind the former tyranny, the siege,

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 77. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 408, 409. D'Esclot, ch. 128. Memoriale de' Podestà di Reggio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. viii. p. 1158. Montaner, ch. 113. The condemnation of Riso and Nizza is mentioned by Neocastro, who alone amongst the historians of the battle makes mention of these unhappy men.

the reciprocal injuries, and some even the detested features of the barons who had been their oppressors; so that the more impetuous forced their way through the crowd, looked at them face to face, and mocked them with taunting words: "Who was your instructor in naval warfare? Oh! what a calamity is this! to give up your swords to naked Catalans and Sicilian galley-slaves! Here for the second time you appear in triumph at Messina!" In order to avoid still worse treatment the prince disembarked in the disguise of a Catalan soldier. But the queen, her sons, and the more influential of the citizens succeeded in quelling the blind fury of the multitude, who were on the point of sounding the tocsin, and raising the old cry of "Death to the French!" The prince was confined at first in the royal palace, and afterwards in the castle of Matagrifone with l'Estendard. An historian informs us that they were not chained, but jealously guarded by the citizens and soldiers; and the high-minded Constance forbade the Infants to behold the son of Charles of Anjou in his fallen state. The other knights were quartered in the houses of the chief men of the city, to whose

custody they were consigned. And the queen, with many tears, embraced her sister thus rescued almost by a miracle from the hands of the enemy.[1]

This defeat stirred up a tempest in Naples against the Angevin rule. The people, rising tumultuously, shouted through the streets, "Hurrah for Roger Loria, and death to King Charles!" and for two days, defying all restraint, they sacked the houses of the French, a few of whom, falling into their hands, were slain; but the greater part having retired from the city with five hundred of their cavalry, escaped, and contemplated taking refuge in Calabria with the Count of Artois, but for the encouragements of the Cardinal and of the Barons; who urged them to assemble round the citadel of Capua, and not to fear the populace, nor this sudden outbreak resembling a fire of straw, for the Neapolitan nobles were all on their side. And so in fact it proved; the Barons of Naples, either conquered by

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 410. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 77. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 27. D'Esclot, ch. 129. Montaner, ch. 113. These authorities, and especially that of Malaspina, prove that the massacre of more than two hundred of the prisoners on their arrival at Messina, invented or mistimed by Ricobaldo Ferrarese and Francesco Pipino, in Muratori, vol. ix. pp. 142, 694, is entirely without foundation.

the arts and authority of the Cardinal, or tamed by the influence of the Court, became at that critical moment the supporters of the usurper. Hence the populace seeking to expel the French, were unable to do so; being opposed by their own countrymen, and two days afterwards subdued and punished by King Charles himself.[1] The impulse of the movement communicated itself to Gaeta, and to several other towns, which after making a little stir, as Charles wrote in his habitual tone of contempt, were silenced by the same causes.[2]

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 410, 411. Chron. S. Bert. *loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 765. Letter of King Charles to Pope Martin, dated Naples, the 9th June, 1284, in Testa's Life of Frederick II. of Sicily, docum. ii. Memoriale de' Podestà di Reggio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. viii. p. 1158. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 94. Life of Martin IV. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. iii. p. 610. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222.

[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 411. Letter of King Charles to Pope Martin, quoted above.

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES, HAVING WREAKED HIS VENGEANCE AT NAPLES, PREPARES FOR A LAST EFFORT AGAINST SICILY.—FRUITLESS SIEGE OF REGGIO.—SECOND RETREAT OF CHARLES, AND DARING INCURSIONS OF THE SICILIANS, WHO OCCUPY MANY TOWNS IN CALABRIA, VAL DI CRATI, AND BASILICATA.—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ISLAND OF GERBA.—SUSPICIONS OF THE ARAGONESE GOVERNMENT, AND FALL OF ALAIMO.—FATE OF THE PRISONERS AT MESSINA.—DEATH OF KING CHARLES AND POPE MARTIN.—MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COURT OF ROME.—ACTS OF POPE HONORIUS.—PLOT OF TWO MONKS, HIS ENVOYS, IN SICILY.—JUNE, 1284—1285.

On the very day of the battle Charles sailed from the waters of Tuscany into those of Naples, having with him about forty galleys, and borne onwards by prosperous winds and brilliant hopes, until, as he himself wrote to the Pope, he met at Gaeta the messenger of fear and anguish. He was cut to the heart, more by the death and capture of his gallant knights than by the loss of his fleet; as for his son, he only grieved to see him a pledge in the hands of the enemy. So that, whether it were a feint or the customary uncontrolled transport of his fury, he exclaimed, "Oh that he were

slain rather than captive! For what were it to me to lose a helpless priest, a fool, who always gives ear to the worst counsel?"[1] The inhabitants of Gaeta, who, at the instigation of their exiled countrymen, were on the point of rising in rebellion, on receipt of the tidings from Naples, felt their courage fail at the unexpected appearance of the king with his fleet. He, however, heeded them not; being urged on by a thirst for deadlier vengeance, and hesitating whether at once to follow on the track of Loria, or to vent his fury upon Naples.[2] He decided for the latter, as the nearest at hand. Landing there on the 8th of June, he refused to disembark at the port, and halting at the Carmine, threatened to burn Naples, from which he was with difficulty dissuaded by Cardinal Gherardo and the nobles, who strove to excuse the populace by pleading, "Sire, they

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 411. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 94. Memoriale de' Podestà di Reggio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1158. Ptolemy of Lucca, ibid. book xxiv. ch. 11, pp. 1190, 1294. Ferreto Vicentino, ibid. vol. ix. p. 955. Chron. S. Bert. Op. cit. vol. iii. p. 765. Letter of Charles to Pope Martin, dated the 9th June, 1284, in Testa, Life of Frederick II. of Sicily, docum. ii. D'Esclot, ch. 119 and several diplomas.

[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 411.

were fools." "And I," replied the king, "will punish the wise for suffering the fools to commit such folly."[1] He had those who either were guilty or were deemed such, put to the torture,[2] investigated, threatened; and, moved at length to clemency, contented himself with hanging about a hundred and fifty, or a few more victims; hoping, however, to indemnify himself for such moderation by a much greater sacrifice of life in Sicily.[3] The people of Apulia, who during the reverses of the government had dared to raise their heads, now humbled themselves so much the more profoundly, offering both their persons and their goods to the king; who, in the pride of his heart which had raised him so high, at this apparent revival of his former power, flattered himself that he should still conquer in the struggle. He refitted at Naples both his own fleet and the shattered remnants of that of the prince, commanded the equipment of that at Brindisi to be completed,

[1] Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 94.

[2] Nangis, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 543. Francesco Pipino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 693.

[3] Giachetto and Villani, as quoted above. Also, with fewer details, Niccolò Speciale, book i. ch. 28; and the author of the Life of Martin IV. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. iii. p. 611.

changed the captains of the Neapolitan army and the officials of the civil government, sent letters throughout Italy, stating, in a tone of unconcern, that the fleet of the rebel Sicilians had fled before him; that the volatile and cowardly populace that clamoured on the mainland were dispersed; that he had still more than sufficient forces, both military and naval; eighty-six galleys, and as many *teride;* the numerous family of his son to succeed him on the throne; and that he was about to effect the well-merited extermination of the rebellious inhabitants of the island. In his letter to the Pope he adds, that, provided only he had funds, this time he should surely triumph; and intreats the Pope, with his accustomed loving-kindness, to provide for this final effort. Fearing, however, that either the blind zeal or perhaps the treasure of the Pontiff might at length be exhausted, he, on the same day, charged two of his counsellors, the bishop of Troia and Oddone Policeno, to raise a loan, with the co-operation of the trusty officials of the Pope. He bade them go to the Court of Rome, to Tuscany, to Lombardy; to solicit cities, companies, merchants; so that by any means they might raise fifty thousand ounces

of gold. A few days after he commended himself to Messer Berardo of Naples, notary of the Pope, speaking of this no longer as a loan but as a subsidy.[1] Nor did he apply in vain to Martin, who having already, for his sake, made such havoc of the tithes of the whole Catholic world,[2] now within a month again supplied him with 15,600 ounces of gold, gleaned from the distant churches of Scotland, Dacia, Suabia, Hungary, Slavonia, and Poland; always under pretext of the honour and advantage of the bark of St. Peter.[3]

Thus was Charles assembling a fourth powerful armament, with the auxiliary forces of the greater part of the Italian cities; Reggio, then in possession of the Sicilians, was ostentatiously appointed as

[1] Letters of Charles, dated the 9th and the 14th of June, in Testa, Life of Frederick II. of Sicily. In another of the 10th of June, to be found, like the preceding ones, in the Royal Archives of Naples (register marked 1283, A, p. 150), Charles requested from the Pope the bands of John d'Eppe, writing, besides other pressing arguments, that, "Sicut capitis sanitas vel languor in membris, sic in meis negotiis eiusdem Ecclesii status et dispositio sentiatur." Perhaps he thus meant to give the Pope to understand the converse, namely, the need which the Church had of him.

[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 418.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 41, giving an epistle of the 24th July, 1284.

the place of rendezvous.[1] He rode to Brindisi on the 24th of June, and caused the fleet to sail from Naples under two admirals, the one Provençal, the other Italian, with orders to join the Adriatic fleet after sailing round Sicily, in order to cause terror to the enemy, and to avoid the passage of the Strait, which, guarded in flank by Loria and the Messinese, was anything but secure. On their way they fell in with a Catalan trading vessel, which they seized, and threw all the men overboard, with the exception of a few Romans and Pisans, as if by so doing they could repair the disgrace of the defeat at Naples. Having here and there insulted the coasts of the island, and presented themselves for a moment in an attitude of defiance before the chain of the harbour of Messina, they proceeded to join the other fleet at Cotrone, and having renewed their supply of provisions, laid siege to Reggio about the middle of July. The king proceeded thither by land, with an army of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, if Bartholomew de Neocastro is to be believed. His larger vessels amounted to a hundred and fifty or two hundred. Charles took up

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 412.

his quarters at La Catona with a portion of the army, leaving the bulk of it encamped before Reggio; having taken which—and how could he fail to do so?—he purposed crossing over into Sicily.[1]

But Reggio, weak both in situation and defences, offered an unexpected resistance, owing to the valour of the Catalan William de Ponti, and of a small garrison of Catalans and Sicilians, amongst whom were three hundred Messinese. This gallant band sustained the fiercest assaults, and maintained a vigilant guard, notwithstanding the fatigue to such small numbers; while their arrows, shot with the truest aim from the walls, thinned the ranks of the besiegers, who for the most part came to the war either compelled by force, or allured by pay, perhaps even hating the aged king on whom fortune was turning her back, and murmuring at the want of supplies which the Prince of Salerno had failed to provide in

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 412, 413. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 78. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 28. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 94. We do not learn from these writers that Charles sojourned chiefly at La Catona during the siege of Reggio, but it is proved beyond a doubt by diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples.

sufficient quantities, and which were besides very scarce that year throughout the whole of Calabria.[1] Hence it was that after the first alarm the Messinese so soon regained their courage;[2] hence this mighty, but ill-constructed engine of war, fell to pieces in a moment, even under the masterly hands of Charles. Hesitating whether or no to cross the strait, he remained at La Catona until the latter end of July; when perceiving that the siege of Reggio made no progress, he went to press it in person. The 4th of August he passed on to Amendolia: the 5th to the coast of Bruzzano. He sent for provisions and engines, and it would seem as if he had here awaited the result of some conspiracy in Sicily, and meditated an assault on the eastern coast of the island;[3] for he once

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 78. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 413, 414.

[2] Saba Malaspina, ibid.

[3] I am led to the suspicion of secret practices in Sicily:—

1. By the words of d'Esclot, ch. 119, who says, that in the spring of 1284, the Prince of Salerno was preparing to pass into Sicily, "con volentat de alguns homens traydors qui eren en Cecilia." These would surely have continued with the father, the practices entered into but a few months before with the son.

2. By the reaction which took place in Sicily after the retreat of Charles, caused by the fiercest partisans of the house of Aragon and of the Revolution of the Vespers.

3. By the selection of Count Robert of Artois as Vicar-General in Sicily, with full power to grant pardons and guarantees.

more tried the bait of concessions, perhaps at the request of the Sicilians, with whom he was in communication, naming Count Robert of Artois Vicar-General in Sicily, with full authority; confiding in him, says the diploma, as he would confide in himself, and giving him power to grant pardons and guarantees, which the king would unhesitatingly confirm. Charles purposed sending him into Sicily with a body of troops, but this design was not carried into effect. The king again returned to Reggio, and having attempted a skirmish which produced no effect, he raised the siege on the 13th of August, and returned with the whole of his army and fleet to La Catona.

Thereupon, Roger Loria, unable to come forth from Messina with the fleet, owing to the overwhelming inequality of forces, commanded bands of horse to be stationed along the shore; the people full of courage and confidence resumed their arms; the Infant Don James further encouraged them by his presence; nor was it long before the Messinese began with light rowing boats to molest the hostile galleys, insulting them with arrows and with gibes, in the hope of

luring them to approach the port of Messina.[1] But all their attempts at provocation were fruitless, for the enemy now thought only of effecting a retreat.

That such should be the sole result of efforts so vast, appears incredible; so that, of the historians of the time, some state that Charles sent two cardinals to Messina to negotiate for the ransom of his son, and that Peter of Aragon detained them until the season for military operations was over;[2] while others maintain that the Angevin monarch suddenly stayed the invasion because his adversaries threatened to put the Prince of Salerno to death.[3] This menace, which carried into effect might have proved a wise and salutary measure, to strengthen the Sicilians with the courage of desperation,[4] would not, I think, have sufficed to arrest the progress of Charles when confident of victory. The error of the former is yet more manifest, for Peter never returned from Spain to Sicily, nor could it be

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 78, 80. From the latter we learn the presence of James in Messina.

[2] Giachetto Malespini, ch. 222. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 94; which also speaks of the failure of provisions.

[3] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 28. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 48.

[4] !!!—*Trans.*

supposed that the season for military operations was over in the middle of August. But it was the force of an invincible necessity of a widely different character, which thus, for the second time, drove the Angevin government to the bitter humiliation of retreat. Malaspina alleges only the want of provisions, which Charles also states in his epistles.[1] But the diplomas of the king reveal other and more pressing causes. The army murmured, chafed, and became every day more unmanageable, and the example of this contumacy took effect amongst the inhabitants of the Calabrias. In the fleet, the crews were thinned by desertion; the contagion spread to the army, and could not be checked either by the guards placed by the king over the roads and passes, by the strictness of the inquisition he enjoined against deserters, or by the cruelty of his decrees, which show the tyrannical fury to which he gave way, on beholding the ruin which he was powerless to arrest. For, not knowing how otherwise to prevent the natives of the kingdom from abandoning him, he caused the crime of desertion, which was sapping the strength

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 413, 414.

of the royal forces, to be punished as felony, publishing on the 7th of August, from Bruzzano, a decree which he afterwards repeated several times, sentencing every deserter to the loss of a foot. In the case of Saracens, it was to be a foot indiscriminately; in the case of Christians, in order to show them greater favour, it was to be the left foot. But the desertions continued for a long time, along the whole line of retreat,[1] as well as these fearful punishments which were of no service to the king. Reggio was behind him, menacing, and uninjured; in Sicily the armament was carried on with great vigour; his own army disorganizing itself, and melting away. What need, then, to seek other causes for Charles's retreat?

It was further hastened by a fearful tempest which broke at night over the fleet, anchored without shelter at La Catona, which, as the least perilous alternative, stood out to sea, and on returning the following day after being exposed to great danger, found the land forces had suffered almost as much from the fury of the wind and

[1] Many diplomas attesting these facts are to be found in the Archives of Naples, in the registers of 1283 and 1284.

rain. At noon, while the sun shone brightly at Messina, a tempest again burst upon the opposite coast, making it appear, says Neocastro, as if even the sea and sky would drive back the strangers.[1] Still more worthy of note, however, was the valour of Raymond Marquet, a Catalan, Vice-Admiral of Aragon. He was sent to Sicily by the king, with fourteen galleys, when tidings reached Catalonia of the renewed warlike preparations of the enemy, and was traversing the waters of Milazzo, when one Villaraut, a Catalan knight, who commanded the city, discerning his squadron from the shore, hastened alongside in a boat to give him warning that the strait was encumbered by the powerful fleet of the enemy. "The king commanded me to take these galleys to Messina, and no human power shall make me turn," replied Raymond, and continued his course. Villaraut sent instant advice to the Infant, and our fleet, emulating the gallant Catalans, went forth to meet them as far as Torre di Faro, and both entered the harbour unmolested in the face of the enemy.[2]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 79.
[2] Ibid. ch. 80. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 414.

After these events Charles no longer delayed his retreat; which the Sicilians perceiving, they began to molest him as they had done in 1282, equipping as many as fifty-four galleys, between Catalans and Sicilians. When they were ready, Roger Loria assembled the officers and crews and all the rest of the forces, in the piazza of St. John of Jerusalem, and amid profound silence, caused by the reverence in which he was held, thus addressed them:—"Behold for the second time the flight of the Neapolitan usurper! Behold confusedly mingled in yonder fleet, men of Provence whom we have twice defeated in naval warfare, inexperienced French, and, differing widely from them in manners and in wishes, Tuscan and Lombard mercenaries and disaffected Apulians, all of Italian race, who remember our liberation of their prisoners, our merciful dealings with them in the war, and, may I not say it? even our expulsion of the insolent strangers. But you, Catalans and Sicilians, differing in language only, you are one in heart and in glory; together you have been tried in battle; and what is yonder ill-assorted multitude to you? Attack it, then, and disperse it while fortune is on our

side."[1] And the people with one voice replied, "Forward to the battle! To the ships!" and hastening on board, weighed anchor, without even waiting for the word of command. The strength of the wind and current drove them across to Reggio, and would probably have caused their inevitable destruction, when the commander of one of the galleys called a halt, and ordered the sails to be furled. The rest obeyed him mechanically, as is often the case with the multitude. "Do you not perceive," continued he, "that we are running on shore, without having fought the French?" This man saved the fleet; shifting their course they anchored off the promontory of Peloro, twelve miles distant from the enemy.

Here an assault was made, either by the design of the admiral or the desire of the crews, upon Nicotra, which was defended by Count Peter of Catanzaro with five hundred horse, two thousand foot, and as many inhabitants of the place, who, confident in the vicinity of the king's forces, kept a careless guard. Loria, selecting ten galleys, attacked the place suddenly at midnight; not so

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 414, 415.

suddenly, however, but that the count had time to sink eight galleys which he had in the arsenal, and to fly with all his followers. There was therefore little bloodshed, but the spoil taken was rich and abundant. Our troops in their anger set fire to the galleys and to the town, that the enemy, who had made Nicotra a principal post during the war, might no longer have this resource; but those who were in reality most injured were the inhabitants of the town, who wandering about houseless and homeless, were forced to seek shelter here and there throughout Calabria, and for the most part at Monteleone and Mileto. One Geraci of Nicotra, a knight, was captured, and beheaded as a traitor at Messina, having once taken arms for the cause of the King of Aragon, which he afterwards abandoned. Peter Pellicia, also a knight, and native of Nicotra, suffered a still more cruel punishment. While governing Reggio for the Sicilians, moved by envy and malignity, he had excited the people to rise and put to death seven of the principal citizens; he was afterwards arrested by the orders of Peter, but escaped from his prison. The

admiral, having found him at Nicotra, gave him up to the children of his victims, by whom he was torn to pieces.

Returning at day-break to the fleet, the admiral perceived that of King Charles sailing up the Ionian sea towards Cotrone; he at once gave chase, and at nightfall found himself off Castelvetere, four miles from the enemy. Roger was tempted to go himself to reconnoitre, and entering a fishing boat, glided silently between the hostile vessels, listening to the conversation of the men, some of whom spoke in praise of him, although an adversary, while others abused King Charles as unlucky and disheartened, and the greater part wished only to return to their own homes. Here the admiral encountered a great risk, but fortune favoured him as she had so often done. "Who goes in that boat?" cried a sentinel; to whom the admiral quickly replied, "A poor fisherman, labouring in the king's service." Presently rejoining his own fleet, he took with him a band of three hundred Catalans and Sicilians, to assault Castelvetere, a town four miles from the shore. They reached the foot of the walls in silence, and having no ladders, by binding their lances

together constructed a substitute for them, upon which one Fasano, of Messina, was the first to scale the wall. Falling in with the guards, who were on the watch, he slew four of them, and was slain by the remainder; but a few other Messinese having followed on his track, opened the gates, so that the place was sacked with much greater effusion of blood than at Nicotra. The following night the admiral pushed on as far as Castrovillari, fifteen miles inland, and made himself master of it, and likewise of Cerchiaro and Cassano, on his return to the fleet. Re-embarking, he assaulted Cotrone, and then set sail for Sicily, leaving the king to bring back his fleet and army with all speed to Apulia.

Still greater were the reverses experienced by the Angevin cause, on the side of the Mediterranean. Matthew Fortuna, at the head of two thousand "almugaveri," had fearlessly maintained himself the whole summer in the towns he had occupied in Basilicata, which is scarcely to be credited, except upon the suspicion that Charles, bent on the invasion of Sicily, may have contemptuously disregarded him. Animated by the example of the admiral, he, one rainy night, took

both the town and castle of Morano, at a blow, and afterwards Montalto, Regina, Rende, Laino, Rotonda, Castelluccio, Lauria, Lagonegro, and other towns in Val di Crati and Basilicata.

The forces of the king were distant and in retreat; while, on the other hand, the example of Nicotra was present to the people, amongst whom rebellious humours were rife; and moreover, two Calabrian friars, of the family of Lattari, went about, with many others, urging and exciting the most influential persons, so that the hearts of all were turned towards the new sovereignty; banners bearing the arms of Sicily were secretly prepared, and a breath would have sufficed for the whole of Calabria to declare itself. Tropea did so, being moved to it by two friars; her example was followed by Strongoli, Martorano, Nicastro, Mesiano, and Squillaci. The overthrow of Charles's rule appeared so certain, that even his own immediate followers began to fail him, and John de Ailli, or Alliata, a Frenchman, lord of Fiumefreddo, in Val di Crati, came to Messina to do homage to the Infant James, who confirmed that fief to him, and granted him another in addition to it. Mileto, Monteleone, and the

other towns hesitated, and the whole of the Calabrias would have been lost, had it not been for the Count of Artois, who, having followed the king, on hearing these tidings turned back at once with his cavalry, and stationed himself at Monteleone, to overawe those who were rebelliously inclined, and check the inroads of a small band of "almugaveri," who, from Tropea, scoured the surrounding districts according to their custom. The inhabitants, maltreated both by the "almugaveri" and the count, heaped the bitterest curses upon *him*, because for the support of his troops he caused the corn to be dug up which they had concealed during the famine of that year. Henry Peter di Vacca, an Aragonese of distinguished name and great valour, sent probably to Tropea by the Infant James, with the authority of viceroy, to foster these important movements in the Calabrias was, however, able to effect little, owing to the smallness of his force.[1]

For this the admiral was to blame, who, with his dreaded fleet, might have followed up his

[1] All these military operations are to be read with little variation in Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 82, and Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 415—417. They are moreover confirmed by many documents in the Royal Archives of Naples.

success in these first expeditions to destroy the naval force of the enemy, and at least to effect a general rising in the Calabrias and Basilicata. But instead of this, and regardless of the progress of events on the Mediterranean coast, he planned a piratical expedition, for the gratification of his envy or cupidity, as if there remained no more enemies to combat. While out at sea with his fleet he proposed an attack on the fertile Island of Gerba, distant only a few miles from the coast of Africa, between Tunis and Tripoli; an enterprise which he said would be grateful to the whole of Christendom, and most profitable to those who should achieve it, as the Mahometan dogs who inhabited it peaceably and securely were rolling in wealth. The crews applauded the project; they called on God and the Virgin; and in their impatient covetousness steered their course for Gerba, arriving before it on the 12th of September. During the night they stationed a galley in the narrow channel, fordable at low water, which separates the island from the mainland; and having thus cut off their escape, fell upon the defenceless inhabitants. With infidels

no scruples could be felt. Those who resisted and those who fled were alike slain; those who concealed themselves in subterranean caves were unearthed, like foxes, with smoke; the greater number carried off as slaves; and an immense booty secured of gold, silver, and other spoil. The prisoners amounted to two thousand according to Montaner, six thousand according to Neocastro; and the slain to four thousand, which, though horrible to relate, is probably true, as I do not suppose any historian could be so insensate as, in such a matter, to seek glory by exaggeration, of which, however, I suspect Montaner's statements of the booty taken in this and similar expeditions, and think it likely that, being himself an adventurer, he records the visions of his own envy, rather than facts, when he states that, after the deduction of all expenses, the plunder divided between Loria's followers was so great that they afterwards disdained to play for anything but gold coin, and would scarcely have admitted to their gaming parties a comrade who staked even a thousand marks of silver. Such of the islanders as escaped captivity or the

sword, paid a large sum for their ransom, and swore allegiance to the crown of Sicily.[1] The admiral erected a fort on the island, which was afterwards granted to him in fief.[2] About this time an Arab prince named Margano, proceeding along the sea-shore towards Tunis with a numerous band of horse, was surprised and seized by the men of a Catalan galleon, and brought to the Infant, who kept him, says Neocastro, not as a prisoner of war, but as a prize, in the castle of Messina,[3] where he became thus, by a singular

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 83, 84. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 30. Montaner, ch. 117, who, by an anachronism, relates this expedition after James's invasion of Calabria, and confounds it with the others that Loria made at that time in the Levant. As to the rest, the geographical descriptions of these historians agree with the most accurate that we have in these days. This island is also called Zebiba, and gives its name to, or derives it from, the species of grape so called in Sicily. It lies in 34° 10′ of latitude north, and 9° of longitude east from the meridian of Paris. It is girded by a sand-bank of some ten miles in width, and from three to seven *braccia* in depth of water, which extends like an isthmus as far as the continent, and which at one time could be forded. Pliny records that the barbarians destroyed a bridge which joined it to the mainland. The island produces olives, figs, grapes, and the celebrated lotos of the ancient Greeks.

[2] This was not, however, immediately after the conquest, for in a diploma of the 25th January, 1285, we find his titles to be, Admiral of Aragon and Sicily, Lord of Castiglione, Francavilla, Novara, Linguaglossa, and Tremestieri.

[3] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 85.

fatality, the fellow-captive of the Prince of Salerno. But the capture of this African, neither an enemy nor a cause of annoyance to us, could bring no glory to our arms, being rather an act of covetousness and rapine worthy of pirates. Such indeed was the whole expedition against the Island of Gerba, were it not that this ill-gotten possession was afterwards maintained to the honour of the nation. It remained a dependency of the crown of Sicily, notwithstanding the rebellion of the admiral who aspired to sovereign power, and the calamitous wars in which it was involved; nor was the little island lost until the latter years of the reign of Frederick II., when the licentious and factious aristocracy consumed the forces of Sicily in execrable internal warfare. Roger Loria reconducted the fleet to winter at Messina, filling Sicily with slaves from Gerba; and crossed over into Calabria with a body of horse. There he made himself master of Agrataria and Roccella; and encountered and defeated a feudatary named James of Oppido, and sacked and burned his town. Then proceeding to Nicotra with other intent, he repaired the walls, strengthened the surrounding hamlets, and re-

called the dispersed inhabitants; after which, as if to make amends for this act of humanity, he returned to Sicily, to satisfy with other enormities the bloodthirsty restlessness of his spirit, whose pride and ambition knew no bounds.[1]

The jealousy of power, fostered by distance in the mind of Peter, and by envy in that of Roger and the other ministers of the Infant James, was already giving rise to harsh counsels in Sicily; the more so, that, in matters of state, the limits between offensive and defensive measures are but ill defined. It should seem that there being a party amongst our nobles desirous of restricting the power of the court of Aragon, and inclining to opposition, some of them showed favour to the French prisoners, and especially to the Prince of Salerno, while others may, perhaps, have entered into some communication with King Charles. The faction siding with the court, and strengthened by the Calabrian and Apulian exiles, exaggerated these practices, attributiug them indiscriminately to those by whom they had been really conducted, and to others who only sought to maintain the franchises of the nation, and

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 86.

accusing them, in a body, of treason, in order to have a pretext for ridding themselves of whom they would, and to secure the support of the people, which still retained their abhorrence of their former tyrants. After the return, therefore, of the fleet from the Island of Gerba, and the retreat and disorganization of King Charles's army, the Aragonese faction feeling itself safe from foreign invasion, turned all its attention to conquer internal opposition by crushing a few of the most powerful and active of its adversaries, and by ostentatiously noising abroad the condemnation of the Prince of Salerno.[1] Its first step was to put to death Simon of Calatafimi, and Pieraccio

[1] I have come to these conclusions from the examination of the facts contained in this chapter, and in particular from the fate of Alaimo, the slaughter of the prisoners at Messina, and the sentence pronounced against the Prince of Salerno. Concerning the suspicions of Angevin practices in Sicily, see above, note [3], p. 118. They are confirmed by Nangis, in his Life of Philip the Bold, Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 544, in which we read: "Sed quia Siculi principem Salernæ Carolum quem captum tenebant, de urbe Messanæ ad quoddam castellum Siciliæ transtulerant, volentes cum ipso, sicut sibi dictum fuerat, reconciliari, timens Siculorum infidelitatem," &c. These humours might be true, although Nangis erred as to the cause of the removal of the Prince of Salerno from Messina to Cefalù, which was precisely contrary to that which he assigns. See also Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 420, 421; and Neocastro, ch. 86, 88, 89.

of Agosta, both of them noble; the latter, according to Neocastro's own confession, at the instigation of those who were envious of his power, as a partisan of the French; the former because being known to be adverse to the revolution, and to the new sovereignty, he had quitted Sicily under pretence of going with his wife and children to England, to enter the service of King Edward, but was afterwards taken in the act of repairing to Naples contrary to his oath.[1] After these, the great Alaimo himself succumbed to the youthful perfidy of James, whom Montaner praises in the words of the Catalan proverb, "The thorn will never prick that is not sharp from the first;"[2] and such, indeed, was the Infant; but he was sharp and precocious in evil, and at twenty years of age was expert in treachery.

The fall of Alaimo was hastened by the arrogance of his wife, who, not to mention others, treated even Constance herself with insolence and contempt. She refused her the title of queen, giving her only that of mother of Don James; rejected her courtesies, and rarely appeared at court, unless it were to display some

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 86. [2] Montaner, ch. 95.

new splendour of adornment; but she once went there during the captivity of the Prince of Salerno, to sound the feelings of the courtiers and nobles. Finding herself with child, she insisted, setting herself above all law and usage, on taking up her abode in the convent of the Minorite Friars at Messina, on account of the beauty and retirement of the spot. Queen Constance went thither to visit her, which, however, had no effect in conciliating her hostility. After the birth of her child, the queen sent for Alaimo, and offered herself and her sons, James and Frederick, as sponsors for the infant; an honour which Macalda declined, under pretext of fearing the cold of the water for it, and three days afterwards had it baptized in church by some persons of the lower orders. It was also remarked that, on another occasion, at Palermo, when the queen had been carried in a litter, on account of illness, to the sanctuary of the Virgin at Morreale, on the following day, Macalda, who was neither out of health, nor desirous to visit any sanctuary, caused herself to be carried about the streets in a litter covered with scarlet, and afterwards travelled in the same, then very unusual, fashion, from Palermo to Nicosia,

making soldiers and vassals toil under the weight of the burden in severe winter weather. These acts of feminine spite and ostentation were crimes in the eyes of the court, and are recorded as such by Neocastro with the addition of one of deeper dye, namely, that Macalda extorted from her uxorious husband an oath to fly the court, to take part in no counsels against the French, and even to forward the restoration of their dominion. He relates, besides, the notorious facts, that the Infant, making a progress at that period through the several towns of the island, Macalda intruded her company upon him, as was her custom; and this time increasing in arrogance, not content with rivalling him in splendour, and in the numbers of her suite, assumed the authority of Justiciary equally with her husband, and gave ground for still worse suspicions, by bringing with her three hundred and sixty men-at-arms, of doubtful or suspected fidelity, carefully selected from different towns, while the escort of the prince consisted only of thirty horsemen.

Thereupon a stroke of policy was plotted in the counsels of James. Going to Palermo, he sent with the greatest secresy to summon all the

Catalans of the neighbourhood, whether knights, officers of the treasury, or members of the garrisons of forts, to meet at Trapani on a certain day; he despatched thither nine of the fourteen galleys of Marquet; hastened there himself with a strong body of horse, and did not, until some days after, give notice of his movements to Alaimo, who, thus rejected by the court, proceeded to Trapani with Macalda by another road. One day, however, James having assembled his council, unexpectedly summoned Alaimo as if restoring him to favour; and turning to him, touched upon the perils which he saw to be impending notwithstanding the recent victories, saying that his father was not to be moved either by letters or messages to send sufficient reinforcements, and adding that he knew no one who could have influence to persuade him, unless it were Alaimo; it rested with him, therefore, to save his country and his sovereign; and to do so by going at once to the king with the galleys that were waiting there in readiness to sail for Catalonia. When the Infant ceased speaking, his counsellors followed up his words with yet more pressing solicitations. The noble Alaimo understood them, and perceived

that there was no escape; he looked them in the face and replied that he would go. That same day, therefore, the 19th of November, 1284, he embarked; at Favignana he encountered a tempest by which a galley was wrecked at Levanzo; and with the remainder he reached Barcelona. Here he was joyfully received by Peter, who listened, praised, and promised him that they should together return to Sicily. But these hypocritical courtesies deceived neither Alaimo nor any one else.[1]

Peter had, doubtless, himself commanded the abduction of Alaimo, together with the show of condemnation of the Prince of Salerno which, as we have already said, was closely connected with it, and which historians, either from party spirit or imperfect information, have recorded with some differences indeed, but still so as not to diverge very far from the truth, and to let us perceive that this was in reality an artifice to distinguish the lieges of the court from its opponents; to put an end to all clandestine practices, by frightening both the Sicilians and the prisoners; to stir up once more the ancient passions of the people; and

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 88.

to secure the praise of forbearance by staying the sword of justice which hung over the life of Charles's son. Alaimo, either in public or in private, had opposed the condemnation of the prince, and this was perhaps the principal cause of his ruin.[1] The event becoming speedily known

[1] According to the Catalan Montaner, ch. 113, 114, the rulers of Sicily, after liberating the prisoners of lesser note taken at the battle of Naples, sent to ask the king, who was then at Barcelona, what they should do with the nobles; the prince at the same time summoning a parliament to meet at Messina in two months, to give time for the answer to arrive. The king immediately sent back private letters, to be seen by none but the queen, her sons, and the admiral, which dictated all their subsequent acts. Assembling a parliament of the nobles, the syndics of the cities, and all the people of Messina, James reminded them of the fate of Manfred and Conradin, as if to demand that the blood of the only son of Charles of Anjou should be shed to avenge them; whereupon his death was demanded by all, and the sentence drawn up. But James, in order to save the prince, unexpectedly caused him to embark for Catalonia, which proves how incorrectly Montaner remembered the facts, and how he sought to colour them to the advantage of James. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 420, 421, also mentions the parliament at Messina, supposing that the Neapolitan exiles persuaded the queen to this act of vengeance, which was proposed to all the most determined enemies of the French, convoked from all parts of the island; but being opposed by the Messinese, the parliament was tumultuously dissolved, and the exiles vented their rage by the slaughter of as many prisoners as they could find. This writer adds, that James entertained sentiments of fierce hostility against several nobles, who had refused to come to the parliament, or to condemn the prince, amongst whom was Alaimo of Lentini, famous and beloved throughout the whole of Sicily; so that to remove him from the centre of his forces, James treacherously lured

throughout the island to the wonder and grief of all, disheartened the partisans of Alaimo, while it raised the courage of those of the court; and the admiral, fresh from his recent successes, followed by a handful of fugitives from the kingdom of Naples, began to raise the populace of Messina, accusing of treason the best of those who held for Alaimo. Thereupon the infuriated people, demanding the death of the French prisoners, rushed upon the houses of Alaimo in which many of them were confined, and upon the royal palace, where were about a hundred and fifty more guarded by twenty Catalan soldiers. And here was exhibited a striking example of fidelity on the one side, and ferocity on the other, to show into what extremes mankind will run; for the Catalans at first resisted, but finding themselves overpowered by numbers, they unbound the prisoners, and armed them as best they might, saying, "We will fight together for your lives;" and from

him to Palermo, and then despatched him to Catalonia. Neocastro, ch. 87, 88, speaks of no parliament at Messina, but of one at Palermo, convened after the attack upon the prisoners at Messina. From this testimony it appears doubtful whether a parliament were held at Messina before the massacre, but the causes and humours which I have described in the text are manifestly revealed.

windows and roofs, with weapons and tiles, they repelled the assailants, although their numbers continued to increase. "Burn them out," cried the exiles at length; and faggots were piled around the palace. Suffocated by the smoke, the unhappy victims leapt from the windows and implored mercy, but they were struck down and flung back still living into the flames; and Malaspina even relates other horrors committed by the exiles so fearful, that I neither believe nor will repeat them. Prisoners and guards, he continues, all were slain. Neocastro is silent concerning these acts of atrocity, and diminishes the number of the prisoners to sixty; others state them at two hundred, and record the conflagration.[1] The humanity of the queen and the walls of the fortress of Matagrifone saved the prince and many others with him.

A parliament was then convened at Palermo, to deliberate concerning his fate; in which, according to Neocastro, all agreed to put him to death, in vengeance for the fate of Conradin, the Messinese

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 88. Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 420, 421. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 224. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 96. Ricobaldo Ferrarese, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 142. Francesco Pipino, ibid. ch. 18.

alone dissenting with James and the queen. This is confirmed, notwithstanding their differences as to details, by Montaner, Giachetto Malespini, Villani, and by a letter from King Alfonso of Aragon to Edward of England, which in treating of peace with Charles II., affirms him to have been condemned to death by the Sicilians, and saved by the king. Another contemporary invents a story to the effect that, on a certain Friday, the queen sent to warn Charles to prepare himself for death, and afterwards pardoned him in consideration of the firmness with which he received this announcement, and his readiness to die on the day which witnessed the sufferings of our Saviour; but this story evidently arose from the facts related above. It is certain that the prince was removed at this period to the castle of Cefalù, in order to obviate any attempts against him or in his favour. The remainder of the prisoners were set at liberty, under promise not to bear arms against us,—an engagement afterwards observed by Galard only.[1]

Macalda, in the meantime, the only one

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 88, 89. Francesco Pipino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. ch. 18. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 224. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 96. Epistle of Alfonso to Edward, dated the 4th January, 1289–90, in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii.

of all her faction who was not intimidated, was gone to Messina, hoping still to be able to turn the tables upon the court party; but this audacity exasperated the rulers, who immediately proclaimed Alaimo guilty of high treason, despoiled him of his possessions, which they divided amongst their own favourites and partisans; and on the 13th of January, at Girgenti, beheaded Matthew Scaletta, brother of Macalda, who it was said had confessed to a conspiracy entered into with his brother-in-law. On the 19th of February they proceeded to incarcerate Macalda herself, and her children; she, however, undaunted by ill-fortune, preserved her dignity and cheerfulness, passed her time in playing with the Arab prince, and with her attendants; and on one occasion, when the admiral came to despoil her of the titles she bore in right of the fief of Ficarra, she, as if still in the plenitude of her power, reproached him in these terms: "Thus nobly are we rewarded by your master! we summoned him as our ally, not as our king; and he usurps the state, and from follows reduces us to slaves.[1] This we have brought upon ourselves; but tell him

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 88, 89, 91.

that I would not exchange these fetters, nor even the scaffold, for his throne sullied by misdeeds."

It appears, however, that misfortune must have worn out the spirit that it could not conquer, and that Macalda died soon after in confinement, as history makes no further mention of her. It was not long before Alaimo and his grandsons Adenolfo of Mineo, and John of Mazzarino, were placed under arrest in the camp of Peter in Catalonia. It was said that a courier had been seized with letters from Alaimo to the King of France teeming with treason, in which he demanded security for himself and his grandsons, promising to join him, and with ten galleys to recover the whole of Sicily for the house of Anjou. Peter showed these letters to Alaimo, who denied any knowledge of them, upon which he was set at liberty, but closely watched; his grandsons, however, soon after slew a secretary by whom they had been written. The murder being discovered, was confessed under torture by Adenolfo and by a servant, and the former also confessed to the attempted treacherous dealings with France, in consequence of which he was confined with Alaimo and John in the castle of Ilerda. King

Peter proceeded thus far; his son, more cruel than himself, having ascended the throne of Sicily, contrived their death.[1] Little faith is to be attached to these misdeeds, promulgated from afar by the Court of Aragon; and those attributed to Alaimo in Sicily are no less uncertain. The two Catalan historians are silent concerning them, as if conscious of the guilt of their lords. Malaspina writes that James bore ill-will to the lord of Lentini, because he had opposed him with regard to the condemnation of the Prince of Salerno. Neocastro affirms neither his guilt nor his innocence, but states him to have been urged on by the pride of his wife, and speaks in the uncertain tone of one at once an admirer of the hero of Messina and a minister of King James. Of documents we have only the act decreeing his death in 1287, which is so obscure that, if it prove any guilt at all, it is that of James in the assassination of the noble old man, who thus paid the penalty of having used all his influence to support King Peter against Walter of Caltagirone and the rebels of 1283. His only crimes were the obli-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 96.

[2] It is to be found in Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 109.

gations conferred upon the house of Aragon; the glory of the defence of Messina, and of the bestowal of the kingdom; the love and reverence of all Sicily; greatness ungraced by modesty; and above all, the envy of Procida and Loria, not patriots but adventurers, ready to sacrifice everything to those who bestowed upon them wealth and power.

While the first measures adopted against Alaimo were creating commotion in Sicily, King Charles was exhausting both his own strength and that of the kingdom of Naples, in his wild anxiety to renew the attack upon it. Tracked by our fleet, he retired to Cotrone, where he halted a few days, and where the confusion occasioned by the frequency of desertion increased a hundred-fold. Irritated and chagrined, the king proceeded to Brindisi, where, to console him, he received tidings of a fresh insult offered to his arms by that Conrad of Antioch, who had co-operated so zealously with the expedition of Conradin. Having assembled a band of Neapolitan exiles and others, near the confines of the kingdom, in a country subject nominally to the Church, but practically to every truculent feudatary or brigand, he made

an armed incursion into Abbruzzo for the reconquest of the lordship of Alba. He was met and defeated by the Count of Campania,[1] but receiving funds from Queen Constance again made head.[2] One Adenolfo, who at the same time excited disturbances in Campania, was defeated by John d'Eppe and the pontifical troops. Perugia, Urbino, Orvieto, and other cities, likewise raised their heads against the Church and the Guelf party which, though still powerful, had suffered a severe check through the medium of King Charles.[3]

He himself, worn out by fatigue and hardships, and but just recovering from a quartan fever, was overwhelmed with cares. His son in the hands of the enemy; the mainland invaded by them; armaments, men, and money, all expended in vain; and himself involved in debt owing to the loans he had obtained from France, and from all

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, § 15. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 419. A diploma given at Brindisi, the 8th November, 13th Indiction (1284), showing that Stephen Angelone had given a castle on the confines of the province of Molise to the traitors, amongst whom was Conrad of Antioch. In the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1283.

[2] Saba Malaspina, ibid.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, § 16.

parts of Italy: and how was he to supply the boundless requirements of the war, now that the people of Naples were refractory, and almost openly refused both taxes and contributions?[1] Nevertheless he dissembled as best he might, talked loudly of the war which in the following spring he would carry into Sicily, and the King of France into Aragon, and proceeded to cause his ships to be refitted, seamen to be pressed by force into his service, the forts to be victualled, grain to be collected, biscuit to be prepared, and an immense number of arrows and other arms and accoutrements to be manufactured. He enticed the feudataries to the performance of the military service, by permitting them to levy fresh contributions upon their vassals;[2] and being always anxious for money, and having exhausted every other source, he fell back into his old errors, and issued proclamations for a general benevolence, condescending to address persuasions and

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 417.

[2] Malaspina, *loc. cit.*, and many documents in the Royal Archives of Naples, amongst which a diploma given at Barletta, the 25th November, 13th Indiction, for various kinds of manufactured arms required by the forces, would be important to any inquirer into the state of strategic art at that time.

almost entreaties to his subjects. He declared to them that if God were still the same Lord who had subdued kings and kingdoms at a glance, he would conquer this small island of Sicily, and should have done so at once, he added, had not the ribald Peter of Aragon suddenly risen up to oppose him; compelling him to place the war on another footing, to engage in the duel, and to stir up France against the kingdom of Aragon; and after his return to Italy it was the famine alone which had prevented him from bringing the Sicilians again under the yoke. "My cause," he exclaimed, "is yours. The rebels once subdued, all troubles will cease; and peace and justice will cause the kingdom to flourish." Money being, however, necessary to bring about this consummation, he this year requested from all the communes the usual collection, and eleven per cent. extra from all who did not grudge to aid their king somewhat more liberally. Thus, divided between the want of money and the necessity of moderation, he commanded that the collection should be paid in advance, and at the same time convened a parliament to meet on the first of December at Foggia, for which place he afterwards substituted

Melfi, on account of the greater cheapness of provisions. A suspicion, springing perhaps from calumny, was at this time excited in his mind that three of his judges, amongst whom were one Quintavalle, and Thomas of Brindisi, a native of Bari, were plotting a treasonable conspiracy to burn his fleet; summoning them, therefore, to his presence, he condemned them to be hanged like common thieves, regardless of the privileges of their office. After these warnings, which were far from pleasing to his subjects, he proceeded to Melfi, disturbed in mind and shaken with fever, but hoping great things from the parliament.

He hastened impatiently, therefore, to convoke it, himself remaining in the palace, either from illness, or vexation at the obvious state of public feeling; and being refused fresh contributions dissolved it precipitately. He then again applied to his usual resource, Pope Martin, who, always prodigal of what was not his, had shortly before granted him anew the tithes of all the churches of Italy for three years, and had again proclaimed the cross against the island rebels. Messenger after messenger was despatched to him by the king, who dreamed only of funds, troops, and a

renewal of the war, and sought to conceal from himself and all around him the malady that was dragging him to the tomb.[1]

Already advanced in years, attacked in the chest, and worn out with rage and disappointment, he became a prey to continual fever; so that it was with great difficulty that he removed from Melfi to Foggia, to meet the queen on her return from Provence. The meeting between them was a very painful one, Charles having hardly strength to hold out his trembling arms to her.[2] It was then that he for the first time urged the Pope, in all sincerity, to hasten the reforms of the government.[3] He commended to him the distracted and endangered kingdom, which, on account of his son's captivity, he could bequeath to no certain successor, excepting in-

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. pp. 417—419. Also Ricobaldo Ferrarese, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. pp. 142, 252. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 29, and book vi. ch. 10. Francesco Pipino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 695; and many others attribute Charles's death to grief and mortification at the events of the Sicilian war.

[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 421. Ptolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 11, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. A diploma given by Charles I. at Melfi, the 14th December, 13th Indiction, provides for the expenses of the queen's journey, Royal Archives of Naples, register 1284.

[3] Bull of Martin, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 3.

asmuch as he substituted for him, on we know not what conditions, Charles Martel, eldest son of the Prince of Salerno, a lad of twelve years of age, with the Count of Artois as guardian, or *baiulo,* as he was called, and John de Montfort, Count of Squillaci, as Captain-General, saving, however, the pleasure of the Pontiff. He appointed Philip the Bold guardian of the counties of Provence and Anjou, (but not of the person of the new count,) until the liberation of Charles the Lame; or, in case he should die in captivity, until Charles Martel, or his next brother, should attain his majority; and to this effect he wrote to Philip the day before his death, calling him the only hope and refuge of the house of Anjou, and conjuring him by the ties of blood not to refuse the guardianship. After this he confessed his sins, took the sacrament with a great appearance of piety, and even to the last deceived the world and himself, saying that he hoped for the forgiveness of God, because he had undertaken the conquest of Sicily and Apulia, rather for the honour of Holy Church and good of his soul, than from ambition or thirst of power. Thus he expired at Foggia, the 7th of January,

1285, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.[1]

The Guelf Villani records the fable, that on the same day his death was announced at Paris

[1] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 422. Giachetto Malespini, ch. 223. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 90. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 95. Montaner, ch. 118. Chronicles of the Kingdom of Naples, edited by Perger, vol. i. pp. 31, 58. Here the death of Charles is placed in 1284, reckoning the years from the 25th of March. Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 29. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 955, and most of the other contemporary historians.

Having documents to prove the appointment of Philip the Bold as guardian of the counties, I think this a sufficient reason for throwing a shade of doubt over the assertion of the historians quoted above, that the kingdom was bequeathed immediately to Charles Martel. Charles I. could not have desired to separate the kingdom from the counties, since he left the latter also to Charles Martel, in the event of the death of Charles the Lame. It therefore seems improbable that he should have established two different orders of succession, leaving the kingdom to Charles Martel immediately on his majority, and the counties only after the death of his father in captivity. On the other hand, Charles might have thought that by appointing a guardian for the counties rather than the count, he had sufficiently provided for the government of Anjou and Provence during the incarceration of their rightful lord, but that he thought it neither lawful nor safe to leave the regal crown to a prisoner, or the throne unoccupied until his liberation. The recognised supremacy of the Court of Rome, and the fact that no such case was provided for in the statute of investiture, perhaps increased the difficulty, and it is not impossible that Charles may have evaded it by referring it to the Pope. I have not sought to supply by analogy the deficiency of facts, and have left in doubt the terms of the substitution of Charles Martel, as they remained in the acts of the governors of Naples until the liberation of Charles II. The age of Charles, erroneously reported in the Chronicle of Asti, in

by brother Arlotto, of the Minorite Friars, and Giardin da Carmignola, both celebrated astrologers.[1] The Sicilian Speciale notes, that at that time Mount Etna was shaken by a tremendous earthquake: the eastern flank of the mountain was riven asunder, and from it gushed a stream of lava, which flowed down to the Church of the hermitage of San Stefano, but having reached it, parted into two branches, leaving it untouched.[2] A Spanish friar, instead of recounting prodigies concerning the fate of Charles, describes the noble demeanour of the King of Aragon, who, being apprised of it at the siege of Albaracin, exclaimed without any appearance of exultation, that the world had lost one of the most gallant knights it had ever produced.[3]

On the death of the monarch, Pope Martin proceeded to prevent the disorganization of the kingdom, and provide for the interests of the

Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 164, may be learnt from P. Anselme, Hist. Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, vol. i. ch. 14, p. 191. The condition of the nomination of Artois is given in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 5.

[1] Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 95.

[2] Nic. Speciale, book i. ch. 29.

[3] Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, in Baluzio's Marca Hispanica.

Church. With the concurrence of the sacred college, he immediately appointed Cardinal Gherardo the colleague of Artois, denominating them both bailiffs of the kingdom, deputed to this office by the holy Church of Rome till such time as the Prince of Salerno should be released from captivity, or until the further pleasure of the Pope;[1] an act of subtile policy, admonishing the house of Aragon not to calculate too much on the value of the pledge which they held in their power; and reminding the world of the pretensions of the Pope to the suzerainty of the kingdom of Sicily, of which the throne was considered vacant, and the person of the king doubtful. Hence, the diplomas of the time have been headed variously, and without apparent rule; sometimes with the name of Charles, the eldest son of the Prince of Salerno; sometimes vaguely with that of the heirs and successors of Charles I.; and sometimes with the names of the bailiffs in addition, or even with these latter alone.[2]

A more salutary measure was that of carrying

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, §§ 5—8, bull of the 14th of February.

[2] Catalogue of the parchments in the Royal Archives of Naples, vol. ii. diplomas, pp. 1—43, and note 1 to p. 2.

into effect the reforms not completed in the acts of the parliament of Santo Martino, in which the principal points being referred to the Pope, remained as doubtful as heretofore. Now Martin desired in earnest to introduce the new regulations, as justice is resorted to where violence is impossible. He wrote that these reforms had been requested from him by King Charles at the time of the progress to Bordeaux, and again recently; that he had long been employed in maturing them, and that they would presently be promulgated.[1] He moreover added a subsidy of 100,000 *livres tournoises* for Artois to employ in arming himself for the defence of the kingdom;[2] which measures, together with the wisdom and vigour of the regents, especially of Artois, sustained the throne, which was vacant and the claim to it divided between a captive and a child, with discontented and rebellious subjects,[3] and the enemy close at hand, though weakened by mistrust in Sicily, and

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 3, bull of the 9th of February.

[2] Chron. Mon. S. Bertini in Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 765. Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 543. Life of Martin IV. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. iii. p. 611. Francesco Pipino, book iv. ch. 21, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 726.

[3] Nangis, *loc. cit.*; Francesco Pipino, *loc. cit.*

by civil disturbances and foreign war in Aragon. Conrad of Antioch, again invading the Abbruzzi, was driven back;[1] and in the other provinces only three maritime towns, Gallipoli, Cerchiaro and San Lucido, went over to Peter.[2]

Hardly had the loss of King Charles been thus repaired, when the Neapolitan government experienced another, which could not, like this one, be attributed to mortified ambition, or to the toils of war. Towards the close of March, Pope Martin, the implacable enemy of Sicily, expired at Perugia, according to some, of a surfeit of eels, which he was accustomed to feed upon milk, and then drown in the sort of wine called *vernaccia;* for this he had been gracefully attacked in a satire of the time,[3] entitled, *Primo*

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 9.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 90.

[3] It is attributed to an Abbate Gioacchino. Francesco Pipino, *loc. cit.* book iv. ch. 20.

"Dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno
Le anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia."

DANTE, *Purg.* c. 24.

With Benevento da Imola's comment on this passage. Francesco Pipino, book iv. ch. 21, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 726, quotes these two doggrel lines:—

"Gaudeant anguille quod mortuus est homo ille.
Qui quasi morte reas excoriabat eas."

The death of the Pontiff, but not its cause, is also mentioned by Giovanni Villani, book vii. ch. 106. Ricobaldo, *loc. cit.* &c.

principio de' mali, in which he is represented with the mantle and triple crown, on his right hand a banner, symbolical of the wars he had kindled, and on the left an eel erecting itself towards a little bird perched on the mitre, which, poised on extended wings, bends down to peck at it. Others however speak of Martin in a very different tone.[1]

The cardinals, without any delay of which the times did not admit, called to the pontifical throne James de' Savelli, a Roman and not at that time in priest's orders, shrunken and infirm in person, but of acute capacity, and more anxious to procure the advantage of his friends than the injury of others. He assumed the name of Honorius IV.[2]

Without the uncompromising energy of Martin, he adopted the same course, in pursuance of the ancient policy of the Court of Rome. Honorius would, perhaps, have sought to check the powerful and ambitious King of Naples; but now it was for him to sustain the tottering throne whose peril was that of the whole Guelf party in Italy.

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 12.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 14. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 13, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi.

He therefore sent supplies of money to Artois,[1] confirmed the grant of the tithes of the Italian churches,[2] for the exigencies of the Sicilian war, and commended the heirs of Charles of Anjou to the friendship and good offices of foreign sovereigns. A letter of his to the Emperor Rudolph has been preserved to us, in which he admonishes him not to resist the payment of the tithes in his dominions to the King of France, who was already involved in heavy expenses by the war with Aragon.[3]

The two statutes already drawn up by Martin, to which Honorius appended his sanction on the 16th of September, 1285, are noted in the histories of the kingdom of Naples. In the first he confirmed by his Apostolic authority all the ecclesiastical privileges decreed in the parliament of Santo Martino, as has been already mentioned.[4] The other concerned the civil administration, in which, after a long preamble ascribing the rebellion of Sicily solely to the oppression and injustice

[1] Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 544. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 16.

[2] Raynald, ibid.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 23, brief of the 1st of August, 1285.

[4] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 43, &c.

of the government, the laws of the same parliament of Santo Martino were transcribed and amplified, and many others dictated for the protection of the persons and property of subjects of every class. The iniquitous spoliation of those who suffered shipwreck was disallowed; in favour of the baronial families the right of inheritance of fiefs was extended to brothers and their descendants; military service, or "*adoamento*," was limited to wars within the confines of the kingdom; above all, collections were prohibited except on the four feudal occasions; and the sum was fixed which might be raised for each of them. I do not know whether to praise as a more effectual guarantee of the rights of the subject, or to blame as an encroachment on the regal authority, the right of appeal by the municipalities to the Holy See decreed on this occasion, and the interdict on the private chapel of the king to be incurred upon the first violation of these franchises, and to be followed by excommunication in case of persistance:[1] but the Court of Rome could certainly not turn its spiritual weapons to better civil purposes. Honorius caused these acts

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, §§ 29–51.

to be studiously promulgated by Cardinal Gherardo throughout the whole of the kingdom of Naples, especially in the towns and provinces nearest to Sicily;[1] and for a short time they were observed. Afterwards they became obnoxious to the ruling powers, either as imposed by the Court of Rome, or as being too liberal, and they were never incorporated in the laws of the kingdom.[2]

Together with these praiseworthy laws Honorius employed reprehensible arts for the purpose of exciting conspiracies in Sicily. To this intent he despatched thither secretly two Preaching Friars, Perron of Aidone, a Sicilian, and Anthony del Monte, an Apulian, who proceeding to Randazzo, conveyed to William, Abbot of Maniace, pontifical letters empowering him to grant indulgences to whoever should rise in rebellion in favour of the Church. The war carried on with so much ostentation by the King of France against Aragon, kept the Sicilians in a state of suspense; the wrongs of Alaimo were fresh in their minds, together with the contumacious humours which had served as a pretext for them;

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 53.
[2] Giannone, Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, book xxi. ch. 1.

and the constitution of Pope Honorius was more liberal than the present institutions of Sicily. Thus the Abbot with grave religious exhortations soon gained over to his side his two nephews, Nicholas and Francis, of Messina, Bonamico de Randi, a man-at-arms, John Celamida of Troina, and many others of Randazzo, who bound themselves by oath to betray, I know not which they purposed, their country or their king. And such power had the authority of the Pope to blind the judgments of men, that the two monks, proceeding to Messina, were received into the convent of the nuns of Santa Maria delle Scale, from which secure hiding-place they issued secretly to weave the threads of the conspiracy. As it spread, however, it leaked out. One Matthew of Termini, put upon the scent by the Infant James, and aided by two Minorite Brothers, Simon of Ragusa, and Raymond a Catalan, succeeded at length in tracing the two Preaching Friars, whom, by the aid of a beggar woman, he was enabled to surprise in their own dwelling. Being brought before the Infant, without receiving so much as a menace they revealed the whole of the transaction; and were sent back to Naples, with clothing, money,

and a vessel furnished for the purpose; not from clemency, but from policy and fear of the Pope. The Abbot fled; and being arrested at Palermo, was conveyed as a prisoner to Malta, thence to Messina, and finally released and sent to Rome. Those less guilty, on the other hand, were severely punished; the nephews of the Abbot were beheaded at Messina; Celamida gibbeted; Bonamico escaped into the forests of Etna, where he assembled a gang of desperadoes, and was flattered and won over to the royal cause by the arts of Matthew of Termini.[1] Thus was the conspiracy quelled in Sicily; while in Aragon, the war, (to relate the events of which we must now go back a little in the order of time) terminated with no other result than the perpetration of fearful cruelties, and immense slaughter.

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 98.

CHAPTER XII.

MEASURES OF THE COURT OF ROME AGAINST PETER OF ARAGON.—GRANT OF THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON TO CHARLES OF VALOIS.—PROTESTS AND PRACTICES OF PETER.—HIS CONTENTIONS WITH THE CORTES OF ARAGON. — LEAGUE FORMED AMONGST HIS BARONS. — POWERFUL ARMY AND FLEET EQUIPPED BY FRANCE — INVASION OF ROUSSILLON, AND AFTERWARDS OF CATALONIA. — EXTRAORDINARY FORTITUDE AND PERSEVERANCE OF KING PETER.—SIEGE OF GERONA. — MORTALITY IN THE FRENCH CAMP. — PETER RESUMES THE OFFENSIVE.—NAVAL ENCOUNTERS.—LORIA WITH THE SICILIAN FLEET GAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH. — RETREAT AND DEATH OF PHILIP THE BOLD.—CHARLES THE LAME SENT CAPTIVE TO CATALONIA.—DEATH OF PETER.—1282—1285.

THE war against Aragon, devised on the first failure of the Sicilian enterprise, for the purpose of involving Peter in such difficulties in his ancient kingdom as should compel him to abandon the defence of the new one, was concerted for nearly three years, between Charles of Anjou, Pope Martin, and Philip the Bold. I am willing to believe the statement of Martin, that the king was urged on by many of the French barons, who pleaded that the insults of Peter of Aragon had

become insupportable, and, if unavenged, would be a stain on the honour of the blood royal, and of the whole French nation; for it appears that all the resentment aroused by the massacre of the Vespers had turned against the king of Aragon, when it was seen that he it was who reaped the advantage of it; continued to gather new laurels at the expense of the house of Anjou; and caused French blood to flow afresh in the struggles in Calabria. The public feeling was no doubt inflamed by the arts of the nobles, noising abroad the fame of the duel, and branding Peter as a coward, because he had avoided it, and a traitor, because he had attacked Charles in Sicily without a previous declaration of war. Besides, the Court of France, constantly urged, solicited, and flattered by the House of Anjou,[1] and allured moreover by the glory to be acquired by restoring it to its former power in Italy, might well desire an enterprise which held out the prospect of considerable acquisition beyond the Pyrenees. The

[1] At this time Charles I. and the widowed Queen of France, made a compromise of the questions which had arisen between them, concerning the inheritance of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence. Diplomas of the 10th of November, 1283, and the 23d of March, 1284, in the Archives of the kingdom of France. J, 511, 3.

nation, naturally prompt to war, was further incited to it by the state of society and by the habit of the Crusades; for this was a real crusade, whether we consider the banners displayed, or the objects of the crusaders, which, in the thirteenth century, had become low and profane. It is to be observed, that in negotiating this so called holy enterprise, prompted by the Court of Rome, an unusual jealousy and mistrust of her displayed itself in the counsels of Philip, a desire to lavish the funds of the Church, a penetration and a reserve which astonished and mortified Martin, but which he was forced to endure. The monarchical principles which had prevailed in the reign of St. Louis, and which had begun to operate against feudality, now rose in opposition to the papal power, and paved the way for the struggle between Pope Boniface and Philip the Fair.

The first impulse of the rulers of France was to commence the war at once, without further ceremony; they desired the tithes of the ecclesiastical revenues, and were ready to take up arms. The bishop of Dol, and Raoul d'Estrées, Marshal of France, bore this message from Philip to the Pope,

towards the close of the year 1282. But the latter replied that he wished to give a better colouring to the proceeding, by waiting for Peter to persist in the occupation of Sicily until a given period; and then compiling, in grave terms and with all the forms of justice, the act of transfer of the kingdom of Aragon; and this he did, writes he, with great promptness, trusting in God and in France, that she would always be ready to carry out by force of arms the judgments of the Court of Rome. To make the prize still greater, he issued another bull, despoiling Peter of the kingdom of Valencia.[1] Yet he sought to impede the aggrandizement of France by the war which was to be maintained at the cost of her blood, by declaring, in opposition to the wish of several of the cardinals,[2] that he would grant those kingdoms to one of the sons of Philip the Bold, chosen either by the king, or, in case of delay on his part, by the holy See, but always with the exception of the eldest. Nor did he neglect any opportunity of securing his own profit in the conditions for the establishment of the new dynasty; demanding immensely compre-

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 34, 35.
[2] Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 394.

hensive ecclesiastical immunities, with homage and tribute to Rome.[1] To negotiate these and other terms of the undertaking, he had despatched as pontifical legate John Chollet, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, who came to the French Court with Charles of Anjou, before the day of the duel;[2] and with that authority, says Montaner,[3] which binds on earth and looses in heaven, he annulled the oaths by which Philip was bound to the King of Aragon's alliance. He experienced much greater difficulty in conquering the opinions of the king's counsellors, recorded above, and shared by the prelates and barons composing the parliament, which had not yet degenerated into a mere court of justice, but which might be said, in the language of the present day, to represent the interests of the nation, or of those privileged classes who arrogated to themselves the name.

[1] Bull of the 27th of August, 1283, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 25—32; and in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 252, &c.

[2] Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 542. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 12, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. See also Saba Malaspina, *loc. cit.* and Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28. The objects of the French Court in carrying on this war, and the solicitations of Charles I. of Anjou, are openly declared by the latter in the diploma of the 5th of October, 1284.

[3] Montaner, ch. 79.

I do not think that I am confounding the ideas of the thirteenth century with those of the present day, in saying, that not only was the Court of France anxious to secure advantageous terms from that of Rome, but that the Parliament also was unwilling to burden the nation with the whole weight of a war, the benefits of which were to be reaped not by it, but by Charles of Anjou, the Court of Rome, and one of the sons of Philip the Bold. According to the first design mentioned above, the demands of France were restricted to the tithes for three years, within the then limits of the kingdom; but when the investiture came to be negotiated according to the wishes of the Pope, the tithes of all Christendom were required, or at least those for four years, in the greater part of the present territory of France; the first-fruits of the newly filled ecclesiastical benefices; pious bequests and other subsidies; besides indulgences, authority for the commutation of vows, and some other conditions for the maintenance of the dignity of the king in his relations with Rome; the ecclesiastical liberties of the people of Aragon were upheld; and above all, these favours were demanded of the Pope, whether the advice of the parliament

should be for or against the war, that is, whether the nation should or should not concur in the enterprise in favour of the king's son. These exactions incensed the Pope; he replied to Philip on the 9th of January, 1284, calling the demand of the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices scandalous; that of favours to be conceded, failing the consent of the parliament, monstrous; that of the tithes of all Christendom absurd; and severely reproaching Philip and the parliament with bad faith, inconstancy, and cowardice, for abandoning the holy See and the House of Anjou, bringing dishonour on the French name, and affording food for the calumnies of its enemies. But as is usually the case with the party whose desire is the strongest, he began to concede the very demands of which he complained, by sending his consent to the several conditions in several letters to the legate, and directing him to give way in case the king should persist.[1] These concessions and the acts of the legate accomplished the desired end.

A meeting of the prelates and barons was convoked at Paris on the 20th of February, 1284;

[1] Brief of the 10th of January, 1284, in Rymer, Op. cit. vol. ii. p. 263.

the king informed them of the negotiations that had lately passed, and moved the question of war against Aragon. They demanded a day to deliberate, and three to answer, and early upon the 21st they assembled in the Royal Palace, the prelates and barons separately in two different halls, the king being absent. The legate, who was close at hand and by no means inactive, afterwards feigned great astonishment, at the inspiration by which the two chambers, separate and ignorant of each other's proceedings, decided at the same moment in favour of war. The barons were the first to send this message to the prelates; the legate hastened to summon the king and the court; and the same day, in open parliament and in presence of a great multitude, the result of the deliberations was announced to Philip by the Archbishop of Bourges and Simon de Nigel. Philip thanked them, gave his sanction to the enterprise, and the following day, convoking the parliament anew, he communicated to them that his choice had fallen upon Charles of Valois, his second son.[1] His father took the

Bull of Martin IV. in Rymer, *loc. cit.* p. 267. Nangis, Life

oaths in his name; and the cardinal conferred upon him the investiture of the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, and of the county of Barcelona,[1] with the singular formality of placing a hat upon his head; whence, as he never obtained the territory, he was subsequently nicknamed King of the hat.[2] The Pope ratified the proceedings on the 1st of March; issued the bull of investiture in form on the 3d of May;[3] and on the same day conferred on the cardinal of St. Cecilia plenary authority in France, Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, and all other provinces where troops were to be levied or war carried on; granting the tithes of ecclesiastical property for four years in the kingdom of France, and in the provinces of Vienne, Lyons, Liege, Metz, Verdun, Toul, Besançon, Tarantaise, Embrun, and even in cities belonging to the Empire,

of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 542. He however places this parliament in 1283, in opposition to the documents alleged.

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, § 5, &c. Rymer, *loc. cit.* p. 267.

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 136, who places this investiture in 1285. Montaner gives this appellation to Charles of Valois, in ch. 119, and elsewhere. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 41.

[3] Raynald and Rymer, *loc. cit.*

and other distant countries.[1] He then charged the legate to preach the crusade, granted indulgences as in the wars of the Holy Land,[2] also pious bequests [3] as well as the tithes, and a loan, which the king had requested from the sums already collected for the deliverance of Jerusalem, besides other favours which he had asked, one of which demanded by the barons, was that the crusaders should be bound to pay them the usual taxes and contributions.[4] The ecclesiastical tithes within his dominions were also granted to James, King of Majorca and Count of Roussillon, brother of King Peter, who desirous of throwing off the feudal supremacy of Aragon, had taken this opportunity of turning against his brother, under

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, §§ 4, 10. Bull of the 5th of May, 1284, in the Archives of France, J, 714, 6. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 394. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 542. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 12, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. That the tithes extended to Germany, is shown by a brief of Honorius, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 23. See also Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. i. See Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 70, 71, 91, for these preliminaries of the invasion of Aragon.

[2] Raynald. Ann. Eccl. 1283, §§ 24, 35; 1284, § 4. Saba Malaspina, Cont. p. 394.

[3] Brief given at Orvieto, the 25th of June, 1284, in the Archives of France, J, 714, 7.

[4] Brief given at Perugia, the 30th of October, 1284, in the Archives of France, J, 714, 8.

colour of obedience to the Church.[1] His conduct was so much the more base, that he long dissembled the terms into which he had entered in 1283, with the enemies of his race, engaging himself to hold Montpellier and Lans in fief from the King of France; and binding himself by a solemn promise in writing to give up to him the passes of Catalonia, to furnish him with forts and provisions, and to take up arms against his brother. He swore upon the Gospels to observe this unholy treaty,[2] which drew down the most fearful calamities upon his country.

Peter having been apprised of the first sentence of the Pope, while preparing to render it null in fact, determined also to combat it in form. He appealed against it by ambassadors, of whom some fell into the hands of the enemy, and Arnold of Rexach and Bernard de Orlé[3] reached the Roman court; where, having repeated the arguments of the king, they demanded a safe-

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1285, § 25. In this bull there seems to be an error in the date or in the name of the Pope.

[2] Diplomas of James, King of Majorca, given from Palayrac the 16th, and from Carcassonne the 17th of August, 1283, in the Archives of France, J, 598, 4, 5.

[3] Zurita, Ann of Aragon, book iv. ch. 42.

conduct for him to come and defend himself in person before the college of cardinals, and proposed the arbitration of five Christian princes; but, being rudely repulsed by the Pope, they entered a protest, and appealed against the sentence to God and to St. Peter in a deed drawn up in due form by a notary:[1] a fancy which accorded well with the spirit of the times, and which sprung from a just principle held by Peter in common with the loftiest intellects of that age, on all the records of which it is vividly impressed, namely, always to draw a distinction between religion and the Church; and while blaming the Pope when circumstances rendered it necessary, constantly to uphold the Christian faith. It was doubtless this principle which dictated the legend upon the augustals of gold coined in Sicily, which bore on the face the Sicilian eagle, the name of Queen Constance, and above it the motto, "Cristo vince, Cristo regna, Cristo comanda," and on the reverse the arms of Aragon with the name of Peter, and above it, "La somma possanza in Dio è."[2] As a last

[1] Montaner, ch. 104.

[2] Lello (Michele del Giudice), Description of the Church of

argument for his defence, to elude the question of the right of the Court of Rome, he prepared the donation of the realms to Alfonso, of which we have already spoken above;[1] but Peter made no use of it, because the question was eventually debated at the sword's point. Conscious of strength in his naval superiority, and in the institutions of both the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, he made the sentence of the Pope a subject of pleasantry, calling himself no longer a king, but only Peter of Aragon, a knight, father of two kings, and lord of the seas.[2] With the same unconcern, and with the light-heartedness of a troubadour, he wrote verses in Provençal, declaring that the display of the lilies troubled him indeed, but that experience would soon show whether they would have power to wrest from

St. Mary of Morreale, part ii. p. 21. Maurolico, Hist. Sic. book i. p. 15, ed. Messina, 1716; which adds, that they were of very pure gold, 72 to the lb. Paruta, Numismatica Sic. in Burmanno, Thes. Ant. Sic. vol. vi. p. 1231.

It is true that in the thirteenth century the legend "Cristo vince" was placed upon several coins, in Sicily, Constantinople, and other states, but it appears to have been chosen by Peter in the intention that I have mentioned; and he added force to it by the addition of the other still more significant one:—"La somma possanza in Dio è"—(supreme power is in God).

[1] See Chap. VIII.

[2] Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 87.

him the red and yellow baton, or whether those who came to Spain to seek for pardon would there find perdition; for himself he asked no armour for the struggle, only the encouragement of a smile from his lady-love.[1]

He despatched another embassy to France to complain of this breach of faith, but his envoys could not even obtain a sight of the king;[2] and the same was the case with Queen Margaret, mother of Philip, who sought to intercede for peace.[3] In vain Edward, King of England, endeavoured to mediate, first by his ambassadors in Gascony, and afterwards by letters to the Abbot of St. Denis; for the legate, who had been well selected by the Pope, succeeded in counteracting all pacific counsels.[4] Nevertheless Peter was

[1] Le Parnasse Occitanien, ou Choix de Poésies Originales des Troubadours, Toulouse, pp. 290, 291. Here may be found these verses by Peter of Aragon, and the replies of the Troubadour Peter Selvaggio, and of the Comte de Foix.

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 108, 109. Montaner, ch. 104.

[3] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 52.

[4] Diploma of the 12th January, 1284, in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 264.

The policy of Edward is explained in another letter of the 12th January, 1283, (in Rymer, *loc. cit.*) written by him in reply to Queen Constance, who governing Aragon in the absence of Peter, had earnestly entreated the intervention of the King of England,

unable to induce him to declare war against France, although other causes were not wanting; nor was he more successful with the Emperor Rudolph, from whom he demanded succour, offering in return the cession of his claims to the county of Savoy, and assistance against the Guelf party in Italy.[1] He calculated more upon Sancho of Castile, whom he had supported in his rebellion against his father, and the latter being dead, and the kingdom usurped by Sancho, Peter had frequent interviews with him, in which they bound themselves to afford each other mutual assistance, and Sancho was liberal of promises, but in the hour of need was found wanting.[2] After wearying himself in vain with these negotiations from June 1283 to the commencement of 1285, the King of Aragon beheld the hosts of France already at his doors, without a single foreign potentate having come forward to his assistance.

in opposition to the menaces of Philip the Bold. Edward promised to afford all the assistance in his power in the way of negotiation, none in that of arms.

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 52.

[2] Montaner, ch. 102, 120. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 34, 47, 51, 59.

Nor had he more to hope from home, for the haughty and independent Spaniards regarded with abhorrence the Sicilian enterprise, commenced without the consent of the Cortes, and ended without benefit to the nation; nay more, to its peril, Peter's invasion of the territories of others having exposed their own to such imminent danger. They were, moreover, disquieted by the fear of Heaven,[1] for Pope Martin, aware of the non-observance of the interdict, enforced it by imperative commands addressed to the Archbishop of Narbonne.[2] So that they now beheld the churches shut, a single mass in the week stealthily and gloomily celebrated; no sacrament administered, except baptism to the newly born and penance to the dying; and a curse resting upon the land on which the blood of their forefathers had been shed in defence of the Christian faith. Hence, in their indignation, they denominated Sicily the island of grief.[3] Their pride was out-

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 37.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, §§ 11, 12.

[3] Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, in Baluzio's Marca Hispanica. "Quæ recte doloris insula nuncupatur," writes the monastic chronicler concerning Sicily, alluding to the excommunications and wars to which his country had been subjected on her account.

raged by the impenetrable reserve with which Peter conducted his government, taking counsel neither from the Cortes, nor from the nobles of his kingdom, and giving ear only to Italian exiles, or, Sicilian subjects. But above all they complained of the non-observance of the franchises, or, as they were termed in the national idiom, the *fueros* of their country; of the refusal to restore the possessions once wrongfully occupied by King James; of the *quinta*, or extraordinary subsidy levied upon horned cattle, which, granted for the maintenance of the Valencian war, but deprecated by the Cortes of Exea, continued nevertheless to be exacted; of the authority of the *Justiza* set at nought; of the jurisdiction of the magistrates disturbed, and other similar abuses. Their feelings were embittered by the fear that the coming war would be attended with much bloodshed, as deeds of great daring were expected from King Philip, and much fear was inspired by the wealth and power of Rome.[1]

Soon after the adventure of Bordeaux these humours began to manifest themselves on occasion of a first incursion, made as a signal of

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 37, 38.

hostilities by the command of Philip, from the adjacent kingdom of Navarre, which he had already occupied.[1] Many thousands of French, both horse and foot, advanced a distance of four leagues to waste the territory of Aragon; yet this did not suffice to induce the Aragonese to yield obedience to the king, who had hastened to Tarragona, and summoned them to arms. He then convoked the Cortes at Tarragona, and there both knights and representatives of the people with singular unanimity, having resolved to check at once the usurpation of power, on the 1st of September, 1283, gave utterauce to the most serious complaints, concluding by exhorting the king to take counsel with them concerning the impending war. He replied proudly that he was not used to regulate his conduct by the counsels of others; and that when he needed the advice of the Cortes, he would ask it. They retorted by demanding the reform of abuses, and he, by saying that this was no time to argue, but to fight. Thereupon the Cortes, perceiving that

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 106. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 33, 35. Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 542. Montaner, ch. 111.

their words were thrown away, according to ancient precedent bound themselves in a league or *giura,* as it was called, from their all taking an oath that they would maintain with life and property the liberties of the nation; that whoever should fail in the performance of it, should be challenged to combat by all the rest as a coward and traitor to his word; that they would all defend those who should be persecuted by the king without being condemned by the *justiza,* or by his peers; that if Peter remained obstinate, his son should be called to the throne; and that whoever should resist this league, should be subdued by force of arms. Peter with vague promises adjourned the Cortes to Saragossa, and here, finding them more determined than ever and ready to proceed to any extremity, he consented to confirm the franchises, hoping afterwards to elude their observance, and hastened with all speed to the frontiers of Navarre. But the members of the league, knowing his character, before they returned to their homes met in the Church of the Saviour, at Saragossa, and there renewed their oath; enforced it by seizing some towns and fortified places for their common

security; and elected from amongst themselves certain deputies, with the name of conservators, to watch over the interests of the country, and to summon the rest to enter into the league.[1]

I will not dwell more at length upon the civil dissensions of Aragon, which would be beyond the limits of my subject, and will merely mention that

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 132. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 38, 39. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 91. Carbonell, Chron. p. 76. Carbonell wrote in the fifteenth century, but with the Archives of Aragon at his disposal. He says that the Catalans treated the king with less insolence, and thus obtained from him greater concessions, or, to speak more correctly, the restitution of those privileges which Peter had annulled from anger and natural dislike. On this subject Carbonell records a curious fact: the Catalans, when summoned to the performance of the military service, presented themselves for the purpose with lances without points, and empty sheaths without sword or poniard; and on the reason being inquired of their appearing in this strange guise, they replied that they had done so in order not to fail in their oath to the king, who had burnt the charters of their constitution, liberties, and privileges, and that at the risk of losing both life and property they would follow him, thus unarmed, wherever it should be his pleasure. Peter, softened by such submissive conduct, restored their franchises by a diploma given at Barcelona on the 11th of January, 1283, (or 1284 by our reckoning, which makes the year begin on the 1st of January.) See also Feliu, Anales de Cataluña, book xi. ch. 17.

The author of the Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, (in Baluzio's Marca Hispanica,) who is a zealous Catalan, complains of the nobles and commons of Aragon who refused all help to the king, but does not mention the civil dissensions of Catalonia, which were far less bitter.

Peter granted a similar confirmation of privileges to the kingdom of Valencia, and did so with a far better grace to the Catalans, when, their Cortes being assembled at Barcelona in the commencement of 1284, they proffered a request to this effect; for he saw them ready to follow him in any enterprise, and he called to mind the part they had taken in the Sicilian wars. Nevertheless, either urged on by his imperious nature, or by the pressure of necessity, he soon after aroused afresh the indignation of the Aragonese league by demanding the payment of the taxes in advance; so that the leaguers, whose Spanish pride was equal to his own, assembled in arms, treated the king's commands with contempt, and proceeded to enter into negotiations, on their own account, with the Pope and the Governor of Navarre. Thus, he received only tardy and inefficient aid from the Aragonese in the war of which the theatre lay in Catalonia, beyond their own frontiers.[1] And, meanwhile, with these disagreements in words only, began to mingle troubles of a different nature. Instigated by France, Don John Nuñez, of Lara, lord of

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 39—41, 45, 54, 58, 63.

Abbaracin, rose in rebellion, but, not being joined by others, the city was forced to surrender after a long siege.[1] The king having entered it, assembled all the forces he could, passed the Ebro, in his turn scoured the enemy's territory, and returned with much booty. Parting with no very friendly feelings from the leaguers of Saragossa, he hastened to Barcelona, which was almost a republic, and where a man of the people, named Berenger Oller, was plotting a dangerous movement against the nobles. Peter dispersed his followers by the mere fame of his approach; with Berenger he dissembled, succeeded in capturing him himself, and caused him to be hung by the throat, together with seven others, on Easter-day, 1285.[2] Then suddenly taking with him a handful of men-at-arms, who knew not whither, nor on what errand they were bound, he crossed the Pyrenees, and fell upon Perpignan, where the king of Majorca then was, on the point of declar-

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 117, 118. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 44, 46.

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 130, 132, 133. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 91. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 53—55. Montaner, ch. 111, simply records the incursion of the Aragonese into Navarre; all the other facts which appear to him dishonourable to the king, he either suppresses or distorts.

ing himself for France and giving a passage to her armies through Roussillon, a territory of great importance to the impending war. The city was occupied by Peter, and the castle held in his name; James escaped through a sewer leaving his wife and children captives in the hands of his brother, and without further delay passed over to the enemy.[1]

War having once been decided upon by France, immense forces were collected from half the nations of Europe. The proclamation of the cross, and the prospect of pay, attracted to the standard of Philip natives of Picardy, Provence, Gascony, Burgundy, and Toulouse; French, Bretons, English, Flemings, Germans, and Lombards. The Italians were more numerous on board the fleet, consisting of Pisan and Genoese vessels, with those of Provence and Gascony. There were altogether a hundred and fifty galleys, with a much greater number of transports. The army consisted of seventeen thousand men-at-arms, eighteen thousand crossbowmen fully armed,

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 134—136. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 91. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 1. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 56.

above a hundred thousand foot, vast numbers of pioneers, sutlers, and camp-followers, and eighty thousand wagons.[1] In these statements all the historians of the time are nearly agreed, and the grave d'Esclot adds, that it was a thing not to be believed, excepting by those who had seen it with their own eyes. Slowly this unwieldy multitude at length assembled at Toulouse, during the Easter festival of the year 1285. Here the troops were reviewed,[2] and the oriflamme unfurled, which was followed by King Philip in person, his sons, Philip the Fair and Charles, the King of Majorca, and the legate, with a great train of barons. As if inheriting the passions of Pope Martin, and engrafting them on an inflexible and ferocious nature, the legate was foremost of all the host to instigate to cruelty. Philip the Fair, on the contrary, whether from admiration of Peter his mother's brother, or from envy of Charles the

[1] "E ottantamila vetture!?"—*Trans.*

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 181, 187. Montaner, ch. 119. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 91. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 1. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 102. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* The chronicler states the horse to have been 20,000, and the infantry innumerable. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 54. See also Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 544.

new King of Aragon, came with a bad grace, and looked unfavourably upon the legate. This dislike began to show itself one day at court, where Peter being stigmatized as a giver of offence and a brigand rather than a king, the youth sharply contradicted the legate, and disputed on the subject with his father and brother, calling the latter, in the heat of the argument, king of the hat, and predicting that this was all he would gain by the papal grant. At the beginning of May this formidable host entered Roussillon.[1]

It advanced, divided into six bands, or rather armies, one of which, under the banner of the Church, was commanded by the legate, who, exasperated because in the occupation of Perpignan and all the country Elna alone resisted, encouraged the soldiers to put all the inhabitants to the sword; for when perpetrated against the enemies of the Church, such acts either were no sin, or he would absolve them from it. The crusaders, therefore, spared neither age, sex, nor religion in the ill-fated town; they violated the nuns in the monasteries, slew the priests, and the women after subjecting them to their pleasure,

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 136. Montaner, ch. 103, 119, 121.

and dashed the infants against the walls;[1] and all this in order that Peter might be unable to aid Sicily, and that the wishes of the House of Anjou, of the Guelf party, and of the Court of Rome, might be gratified in Italy. But after the easy conquest of Roussillon, the army was compelled to halt at the passes of the Pyrenees, under the hill of Paniças, where they purposed crossing them in order not to remove to too great a distance from the sea and the fleet. This obstacle threw the immense multitude into disorder; all murmured, and many quitted the army, first going in mockery to the foot of the hill with three stones, which they threw forward, exclaiming, "This one for the soul of my father, this for that of my mother, and this for mine;" and then taking a handful of Spanish earth, and putting it in their pockets, "this," they added, "shall procure me absolution." These occurrences still further exasperated the legate, who was both impatient and inexperienced in war. On one occasion he

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 137, 138, 140, 141. Montaner, ch. 121. Nangis, Life of Philip the Bold, *loc. cit.* p. 545, who relates the instigations of the legate, and erroneously called the town Janua, and Villani, book vii. ch. 102, calls it Janne. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.*

reproached the French captains with want of spirit, but this Philip could not brook, and retorted sharply, that as his words were so warlike, he had better gather his bands and himself advance first to the attack of the passes. The legate received also another rebuff from Peter, to whom he sent a haughty message, enjoining him to vacate the territory of the Church and of Charles King of Aragon. "This territory," replied Peter, "cost little either to those who bestowed, or to those who have accepted it; my ancestors gained it with their blood; let him who now desires it purchase it at the same price."[1]

Nor was this empty bravado on the part of the gallant warrior, who maintained himself in the midst of this ruin, with such marvellous constancy, daring, and military wisdom; though abandoned by all as the penalty of his too despotic rule, having neither an army, a fleet, funds, nor the enthusiasm of the people to rely upon. When

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 144, 145. The author of the Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.*, also speaks of the stones flung as if against the Spaniards, to secure the indulgence. He however does not state it to have been done in mockery, nor by the soldiers, but by the unarmed multitude, amongst whom were many women, who had followed the army for this sole purpose. He recounts the fact at the siege of Gerona.

he learnt that the French army was assembled at Toulouse, though still ignorant of the direction it would take, trusting to the temper of his people, who, he was convinced, would not submit to foreign domination on any terms, he called the nobles and burgesses of Aragon to arms for the defence of their own frontiers, and issued the same summons in Catalonia to the cities, and to the knights of St. John, and of the Temple. At Barcelona he caused the tocsin to be sounded according to custom, to raise the people. Then, hearing of the occupation of Roussillon, he hastened to the frontiers of that province, where he directed his troops to assemble; and having halted a short time at Junquera for want of forces, and learning that the enemy would advance on the following day, he hastened on the 10th of May to prevent them in the occupation of the passes, or to die there as a king. With only twenty-eight horse and seventy foot, he ascended the hill of Paniças, which, on one side, commands the Gulf of Rosas, and on the other, a narrow mountain gorge, rugged indeed, but the least so that was to be found in that range. Here he caused many scattered fires to be lighted, to

feign the presence of a large army, and having gained one or two days by this stratagem, he encamped there the Catalonian troops who gradually assembled, and strengthened the gorge with redoubts, barrels filled with sand, and loose masses of rock, to be hurled from the heights. He guarded the other passes with the few forces he could spare, rather videttes than bodies of troops. At the camp of Paniças Peter received the ambassadors of Bohap, King of Tunis, and there, on the 18th of June, was signed a treaty, securing peace and commercial intercourse for fifteen years, and affording mutual favour and security to the navigation and trade of the subjects of the two kings, the Sicilians being expressly included amongst those of Peter, and procuring for the latter the payment of the ancient tribute of the kingdom of Tunis to the crown of Sicily, together with the reimbursement of the arrears which had not been paid to Charles of Anjou. Thus undauntedly did the King of Aragon confront the overwhelming danger which menaced him, and for full three weeks he detained the French army at the foot of the Pyrenees, of which, during that time, they once

attempted to force the passes, but were repulsed.[1]

Here, however, as every where, a traitor was found, (and in this instance it was one of the monks of a convent in those mountains,) to guide the enemy to another pass, through ravines so wild and rugged that they were but incautiously guarded,[2] by which the whole French army entered Spain about the middle of June. Peter therefore abandoned the now useless position of Paniças, and proceeded to remodel his whole system of warfare according to the necessity of the case; he dismissed his troops, forbade the expenditure of resources in the defence of small towns; himself, after a short struggle, abandoned Peralada which was burnt by his followers, whether to prevent the sacking of the place by the enemy, or owing to the heroic thought of the Viscount of Rocaberti, lord of the town, who could devise no other means of arresting for a short time the advance

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 139, 140, 142, 143, who quotes that portion of the statutes of Barcelona which prescribes the "levée en masse" in case of invasion. Montaner, ch. 119, 120. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 58—60. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 545. See the treaty with the King of Tunis in Capmany, Memorias, &c. vol. iv.

[2] D'Esclot, ch. 146. Montaner, ch. 122.

of the French, is not distinctly shown. Peter then retreated through Castellon and Gerona, hastily summoned the representatives of the towns, and finding them infected with the panic which had spread through Catalonia, so that many were flying for refuge to Valencia, he encouraged them with every appearance of confidence, explained to them his design of wearing out the enemy by guerilla warfare, and asked for a small supply of money to keep together a few troops. Having received it, he supplied Gerona with provisions as well as he could, commanded that within three days the whole of the population incapable of bearing arms should evacuate the town, strengthened it with bastions and *glacis*, and threw into it a small garrison of a hundred horse, and two thousand five hundred "almugaveri" and crossbowmen, under the command of Raymond Folch, Viscount of Cardona. King Philip, with his whole army, having inundated northern Catalonia, abandoned by its inhabitants of their own accord, pitched his camp before Gerona. As if the conquest were already achieved, the legate proceeded to crown Charles King of Aragon, and the country was divided into fiefs, and bestowed

upon his knights; while the whole line of coast to within a few miles north of Barcelona, was encumbered by the immense fleet of the allies,[1] which had distinguished itself by the enormities committed at Cape San Felipe, where the admiral invited the wretched inhabitants, who had fled at his approach, to return, and then caused them to be burnt alive in their own homesteads.[2]

Peter, meanwhile, was fortifying Barcelona with the greatest care; he armed eleven galleys in her port, and began to give some indication of his intentions, by summoning Aragon to the performance of its military service. His demand being, however, refused for the reasons stated

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 147—155. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92. Montaner, ch. 123—127.

It was, perhaps, from this period, that Charles began to use the seal of the Kings of Aragon, which is to be found in many of his diplomas, up to the time of his renunciation to Boniface VIII. On one side is the figure of the king fully armed, mounted on a prancing charger, covered with housings adorned with lilies. The king holds a sword on high and the shield to his breast, as if in the act of fighting. On the other side the king is represented seated on a stool, with the royal robe and mantle, the crown decorated with lilies, a lily in his left hand, and a sceptre, also headed with the fleur de lys, in his right. The legend upon it runs thus:—"Karolus Dei gracia Rex Aragonie et Valencie, comes Barchinonie, filius regis Francie."—Archives of the Kingdom of France, J, 587, &c.

[2] Montaner, ch. 127. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.*

above, he assumed the appearance of complete indifference both to this contumacy, to the advance of the French, and even to the preservation of his crown and life, and gave himself recklessly up to the pursuit of pleasure, passing his time in banqueting and hunting, scorning to come to terms with his subjects, and awaiting from foreign insult that which his own commands were unable to effect. And, in fact, it was not long before the Catalan knights, tractable at all times, and more so than ever, now that their own homes were in danger, came to him to Barcelona, to urge the desperate prayer, that he would lead them forth against the enemy; to which Peter firmly replied, that in this war he stood alone on one side, against the whole world arrayed on the other; but nevertheless, from the present peril and suffering might spring the greater glory if his followers showed themselves but men. It was not Peter of Aragon, added he, who was to be reproached with the hostile ravages inflicted on Catalonia. He, so long as he had a war-horse and a sword, could lead as happy a life as any knight alive; the crown was nought to him, but a foreign yoke was much to the Catalans; he therefore issued

no command, exerted no authority; if it was their pleasure they might arm themselves, and he would show them how to carry on the war. They placed themselves under his orders, and he posted them in two strong bodies at Besalu and Hostalrich, on the enemy's flank. Indignant at the outrages committed by the French, and allured by the prospect of booty, the Catalans began to infest the whole country around the hostile army. Even the league of Aragon was induced to furnish some slight assistance, and Peter, gradually rousing himself from his apparent inactivity, and turning his attention also towards the sea, encouraged by the daring feats of his corsairs, gave orders for his small fleet to sail from Barcelona, under the command of Raymond Marquet and Berenger Mallol.[1]

But in the vast designs of Peter, naval operations, far from being confined to mere privateering, were destined to play a principal part in the struggle, which would be rendered more equal at sea by the Sicilian fleet, in which he had great

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 157. Montaner, ch. 128, 129. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 546. Chron. Mon. S. Bertini, in Martene and Durand, Thes. Aneed. vol. iii. p. 766. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 61—63.

confidence, owing to the recent victories of Naples and Malta, the daring, experience, and activity of the men, and the extraordinary skill and valour of the admiral. The king, moreover, knew the French fleet to be divided into several squadrons to guard the ports or convoy the ships which came from Provence laden with provisions for the army; so that the Sicilian galleys might be able to strike a decisive blow when least expected, and, by intercepting the supplies, reduce the French army to starvation, in a country which had been laid waste and was everywhere infested by native bands. Peter, therefore, sent letters and messengers to hasten the Infant Don James and the admiral, that the latter might bring the fleet to his assistance with all speed. On one occasion he sent three despatches by a galley and two other smaller vessels separately, in order that if one should fail of its destination another might supply its place; for in all Peter's undertakings, and especially in this last war, he was remarkable for the care and diligence with which he himself regulated every matter, both small and great. He moreover commanded his son to send him the captive Prince of Salerno, as a hostage for his own

safety in the extremity of his fortunes. James however, who now affected the dignity of King of Sicily, delayed obedience, being unwilling to deprive himself either of the fleet or of his captive, for the convenience of his father in Aragon; and it was only upon the more urgent commands of the king, or perhaps by the desire of the admiral himself, that the fleet at length departed. It consisted of about forty galleys, for the most part Sicilian, which, cruising in the Adriatic, had taken Taranto and some other cities, and hoped to effect still more important conquests, when they were compelled to sail for Catalonia. Concerning this voyage, Speciale relates that, on the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin, as they were sailing past the Goletta of Tunis, our vessels were celebrating the festival by illuminations, as was then, and is still the custom in Sicily. In the midst of these rejoicings they were met by another messenger from the king; and regarding this as a good omen, the crews, encouraged by the admiral, hastened the more willingly to these foreign wars.

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 2. Montaner, ch. 112, 129, 135. See also D'Esclot, ch. 158, 165.

The viscount resolutely defended Gerona the whole summer long. Philip assaulted it every day, battered the walls with his cats, threw stones into the city from the catapults, caused the walls to be scaled and the curtains to be mined, without producing any effect upon the garrison, who opposed artifice to artifice and force to force, and in their sallies burned the enemy's machines, while the Saracen archers with marvellous skill struck down not only those who were exposed, but those who sought shelter behind machines or buildings, the sick through the loopholes of the windows, in short, any one within the length of a bow-shot wherever there was sufficient space for an arrow to penetrate.[1] Already the French host was falling into disorder and wasting away. A fierce mortality raged in the camp, the result either of hardships or unwholesome air, and aggravated by the putrid carcases of the horses which perished by thousands from the stings of venomous horse-flies that infested the country in clouds, and which, according to the fabulous tradition of the people, adopted by one or two historians, issued for the first time from

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 160—164.

the sepulchre of the Blessed Narcissus, profaned by the fury of the enemy.[1] The pestilence attacked the fleet with such severity, that within a few weeks the crews were reduced to one half, and afterwards dwindled to a third or even less.[2] Meanwhile the Catalans scoured the whole country from the posts of Besalu and Hostalrich, carrying off the convoys of victuals which, to mitigate the scarcity, were brought by sea to Rosas and thence in carts to Gerona; they surprised the detached bands of the French, cut to pieces all who strayed from the ranks, enriched themselves with spoil, sold their prisoners and satiated themselves with blood, indefatigable, expert, daring, and unrelenting. The sea itself was no longer safe for the enemy, for the eleven galleys of Barcelona having attacked a squadron of twenty-five French ones with desperate energy, defeated and captured them, and the privateers thus encouraged came forth in greater numbers to try their fortune.[3]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 1. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92, 97. D'Esclot, ch. 160. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* Montaner, ch. 128. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 102. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 546. Chron. Mon. S. Bert. *loc. cit.* p. 766.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92.

[3] D'Esclot, ch. 157, 158. Montaner, ch. 128—133. Geste de'

Thereupon Peter spread abroad the report of the deplorable condition of the invading army, and that one strong effort would suffice to destroy it. He made Alfonso summon Aragon to arms, himself called upon the Catalans, and was now obeyed by all with alacrity—the natural consequence of his reviving fortunes. He rode to the sanctuary of St. Mary of Monserrat, famous throughout the whole of Spain, passed the entire night there in prayer before the altar of the Virgin, and on the following day, going forth openly at the head of his troops for the first time, as if strengthened by Heaven, he led five hundred horse and five thousand foot straight upon Gerona, manœuvred in the face of the enemy with no other defence than the waters of the Tar, and then ascended the neighbouring hill of Tudela. Not deeming this an advantageous position, however, he abandoned it, and moved in the direction of Besalu, when he suddenly found himself, with only a slender force, involved in a terrific conflict.[1]

Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 546. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 63, 64.

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 159. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 65.

On the night of the 14th of August, Peter, accompanied by only twelve horsemen, having strayed from the main body of his forces and from the road, was about to ride into the midst of a troop of five hundred French horse, but that some of his men-at-arms, and a few hundred "almugaveri," who had come in search of him, became aware of the enemy. The king was riding without his armour, but when he beheld the confusion and that the fight was commencing, he dashed into the midst of the combat, and distinguished himself by prodigies of valour. It is recorded that, his horse's reins having been cut through and finding himself surrounded by horsemen, he boldly disengaged himself from them slaying several of them with his truncheon, and that a javelin aimed at him from a short distance, stuck in his saddle-bow, d'Esclot having with his own eyes beheld the saddle-bow and the broken point of the weapon. Meanwhile, the struggle was carried on fiercely between the other combatants, light "almugaveri" against men-at-arms, and horse against horse. Distinguished above all those famed for their valour on the side of the Catalans, was the Sicilian Palmiero Abate, a youth

who had never yet seen a battle, taken from his beloved country by the artifice of the king, in whose defence he now signalized himself to such a degree, that the Catalan Montaner, carried away by the enthusiasm of chivalry, compares the other gallants to Lancelot and Tristram, but Abate to Orlando himself. Wearied at length with the desperate struggle, both French and Spaniards retired from the field, and the victory was afterwards claimed by both parties. It has been erroneously stated by some historians that Peter was wounded in the affray; but so far from it, he proceeded on his progress, visiting Besalu and his other posts; he continued to elude his pursuers, to lay ambuscades, and to harass on all sides the extenuated host of France; and he was meditating some stratagem by which to throw supplies into Gerona, when, on the 24th of August in consequence of most welcome tidings, abandoning every other design, he rode without drawing rein to Barcelona.[1]

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 159, 165. Montaner, ch. 134. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 92. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* It is here stated that Peter was worsted in this engagement. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 65. This skirmish is also mentioned by Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 103; Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 547; Chron. S. Bert. *loc. cit.* p. 766; Ricobaldo Ferrarese; Francesco Pipino;

The tidings were those of the arrival of the Sicilian fleet; and Peter's eyes flashed with delight at beholding in the port of Barcelona thirty galleys drawn up in perfect order, painted round with the arms of Aragon and Sicily, glittering with shields and crossbows, and decorated with banners, pennons, and tents of scarlet silk upon the stern; for, continues d'Esclot, a fleet better equipped never was beheld. The Sicilian crews set up a joyous shout on beholding the king, who went on board the galleys, examined everything, and took counsel with Roger Loria. After three days of rest, the admiral again set sail for the Gulf of Rosas,[1] sending notice of his movements to the small Catalan squadron, which had put to sea some time previously in search of adventures in those waters, and which was now pursued by the French fleet.

the Chronicle of Parma; Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 15, 16; in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi.; and Anonymi Chron. Sic. briefly relating the Aragonese war in the places quoted above. According to them Peter received a wound, of which he afterwards died; but this wound is not mentioned by the contemporary Catalan or Sicilian historians, who had the best opportunities of knowing particulars and had no reason falsely to conceal the fact had the warlike monarch died from the effects of a wound, three months after the battle.

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 165.

The latter, weakened by the mortality amongst the crews, and ignorant of the arrival of the Sicilian galleys, fell in with them near the rocks of the Formiche, under Cape St. Sebastian, and was discovered, without his own approach being detected, by Loria, who immediately detaching a few of his galleys to interpose between the enemy and the land, attacked them from the sea with the body of the fleet, having previously directed that several torches should be provided on board each galley, both to prevent them from falling foul of one another, and to terrify the enemy by the semblance of greater numbers. When within a bow-shot of the hostile vessels, the Sicilians suddenly lighted their torches, raising the shout of "Sicily, Aragon, Maria delle Scale of Messina!" and the prow of the admiral's ship struck a Provençal galley so violently amidships as to capsize it, so that the whole crew, with the exception of five or six, were flung into the sea. The enemy, taken by surprise, offered only a feeble resistance to this impetuous assault. Twelve galleys escaped by imitating the fiery signals of the Sicilians, and their watchword, "Aragon and Sicily;" of the rest, some were taken, and some

ran aground, and the victory of Loria was complete. The historians of the time agree almost entirely as to these facts, with some little discrepancy as to the number of vessels and the order of battle. But the express statement of some, the silence of others, and the events that followed, attest beyond a doubt that the sinews of the naval force of France were that night destroyed by the Sicilians. More than five thousand French and natives of Provence fell in the battle at the rocks of the Formiche; but these were more fortunate than the prisoners, owing to the savage ferocity fostered by the events of the times and the exasperation of the Spaniards against the French. Roger Loria, dividing his prisoners after the battle, selected fifty knights of noble blood from whom a large ransom might be obtained; and sent the rest to Barcelona, to Peter, who caused three hundred of the wounded to be bound to a cable, the end of which was fastened to a galley; the galley put to sea, trailing the string of prisoners after it; and the fearful execution was consummated in the sight of all who chose to see, as d'Esclot coolly describes it. Two hundred and sixty, who had not been wounded, had their eyes

put out, with the exception of one, who, by Peter's orders, had one eye spared that he might reconduct the band to Philip, himself attacked by the prevailing epidemic, and cut to the heart at the havoc that death, in such varied and fearful forms, was making amongst his people.[1]

Within a few days Roger Loria dispersed the last remnants of the hostile fleet, having despatched the Catalan galleys to secure whatever relics were to be found of it at Palamos and at San Felipe; while he himself, entering the Gulf of Rosas, burned and took twenty-five more vessels; and landing his forces, stormed the castle in order to possess himself of the supplies there laid up.[2] An instance, rare in that age, of infantry unprotected by armour sustaining the shock of heavy cavalry, occurred at the disembarkation; for the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 93—95. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 3, and book iv. ch. 13. D'Esclot, ch. 166. Montaner, ch. 131, 135. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 104. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 45. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 17, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 68, who quotes a diploma of Peter touching the numbers of the enemy slain in this battle. These writers differ considerably in their statement of the number of vessels engaged on both sides. It should appear that the Sicilian fleet was rather the most numerous.

[2] Montaner, ch. 136.

Count of Saint Pol, advancing from one of the neighbouring towns with a troop of horse, against Loria's crews, they entrenched themselves behind concealed ditches, pitfalls, and ropes stretched upon stakes, and awaited the charge javelin in hand. The French rushed upon them at full speed; part of them fell headlong into the ditches; others, checked by the defences, were thrown into confusion; and the Sicilians, breaking forth upon them, completed the rout. The count's horse having fallen, he was slain and his hand cut off, which was afterwards redeemed by the enemy with seven thousand marks of silver. The admiral reembarking, made other rich prizes at sea, and cut off all supplies of provisions from the French army.[1] It was then that the Count of Foix having come to Loria to demand an armistice in the name of King Philip, the latter haughtily refused it; saying that, even were it granted by the King of Aragon, he would never observe it towards the French and Provençaux; and the count admonishing him not to speak so proudly, as France

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 4. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 95. The defeat of the French horse at Rosas, is related also by Montaner, ch. 136.

would be able to put three hundred galleys to sea; "Let three hundred come," replied Loria, "or two thousand if they will; with a hundred of mine I would engage to hold the seas so that no vessel should traverse them without a safe-conduct from King Peter, nor any fish raise its head in them without the shield of the arms of Aragon."[1]

Meanwhile Raymond Folch, who had performed such prodigies in the defence of Gerona, and had long defied not only the threats and promises of the enemy, but hunger itself, now reduced to the last extremity, began to show willingness to come to terms, by the consent of Peter, who was neither in a position to compel the enemy to raise the siege by giving battle, nor saw any sufficient reason for exposing himself to so great a risk.[2] A French chronicler relates that, during the progress of the negotiations, the Archbishop of Saragossa having gone to the camp of the besiegers, the legate interrupted his discourse, fiercely exclaiming, "No mercy! no terms!" when Philip the Fair sharply interrogated him as to

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 166.
[2] D'Esclot, ch. 165. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 546

what he would do with the infants and maidens if he took Gerona by assault? "Perish all!" replied the cardinal. "Let none perish but those who can defend themselves with the sword," retorted the young prince. He then secretly informed the archbishop that the besiegers were reduced to greater straits than the besieged, and counselled him therefore to adhere firmly to the conditions demanded:[1] and who can say how far the indignation thus early conceived against the Court of Rome, may have worked on his young mind, to predispose him for the scenes of violence subsequently enacted at Anagni. The viscount agreed to surrender the town in twenty days if no relief appeared within that time; and not receiving any, on the 7th of September he marched out of Gerona with arms and baggage and all the honours of war, accompanied by the admiration of the enemy.[2]

But this tardy success brought neither joy nor relief to the French; for, being no longer masters of the sea, hunger was completing the work of destruction on their arms already thinned by

[1] Chron. Mon. S. Bert. *loc. cit.* p. 766.
[2] D'Esclot, ch. 167. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.*

pestilence and by the sword; while the camp was thrown into still greater anxiety by the dangerous state of King Philip himself, who, attacked by the epidemic in the camp before Gerona, derived no benefit from change of air, while the news of the disaster of the fleet seemed to poison the blood in his veins. Amid all this suffering Philip gave orders for a retreat, leaving a garrison in Gerona. Meanwhile Aragon, Catalonia, and every part of the kingdom emulated each other in pouring in armed warriors to join the banner of Peter, who further inflamed the general zeal by doing of his own accord what his pride had obstinately refused to consent to when reduced to the greatest straits, and which now, in his reviving fortunes, did him the more honour. In a public harangue to the assembled barons, he admitted that these calamities had been the result of his own acts, and of the adverse fate which had led him to close his ears to the loyal counsels of his barons; that God had punished his pride, and now withheld the scourge raised above his head; and that therefore he, perceiving the hand of the Lord, had repented, and now asked pardon of his subjects; he counselled them to moderate their

vengeance upon their routed and fugitive enemies, on whom the Spaniards ought to have mercy, as God had had mercy upon them; such was his opinion, and he invited the barons to pronounce their decision. With the same judgment he exerted himself to conciliate the Aragonese more than all the rest, and melted those haughty and intractable spirits even to tears, says d'Esclot, by the humility and gentleness of his words.

Having assembled a sufficient force, and advancing on the flank of the shattered French army, he reached the pass of Paniças, but did not dispute it,—from pity, say the historians of his own party, for the king, who was suffering from mortal illness, and regard to the prayers of Philip the Fair: perhaps also he might not wish to drive to desperation an enemy even now more powerful than himself. On the 30th of September,[1] four thousand horsemen, all that still remained mounted, and a useless crowd of foot soldiers, with a confused mass of baggage, leaving behind them, for want of means of conveyance, a far greater quantity of equipments, plate, goods, and spoil of all

[1] This was in 1285, the first Sunday after the feast of St. Michael.

descriptions, once more traversed the pass in mournful haste. The knights rode in serried ranks round the oriflamme and the litter of the dying king, with the princes of the blood, the legate, and the leaders of the army. The "almugaveri," panting to attack them, were restrained by Peter until the men-at-arms were passed, when they broke loose upon the infantry and the baggage. Beyond the mountains, in Roussillon, Loria disembarking with his ferocious crews, made equal havoc of the blood and spoil of the fugitives; so that throughout a considerable tract of country nothing was to be seen or heard of but men slain, or dying of wounds, pestilence, or hunger, assaults and robberies. Even the strong squadron of horse hardly escaped. On the 6th of October King Philip died at Perpignan, and the relics of the army brought nothing back with them to France but woe, pestilence, wounds, and an immense increase of public debt.[1]

Peter, who was not slack in following up his

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 166, 167. Montaner, ch. 137—139. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 97. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 5. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 105. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 15, 17, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. Nangis, *loc. cit.* p. 548. Chronicle of Parma, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 807. Rico-

success, proceeded to assault Gerona, and turned his attention also towards the island of Majorca; not, he declared, from revenge against his brother, but to be in a better position for concluding a peace with France and Rome. The way was prepared by negotiations with the inhabitants of the island; and five hundred horse, under the command of Alfonso, were placed in readiness with Loria's fleet. They were on the point of putting to sea, when the king, leaving Barcelona for Saragossa, on the 26th of October, was chilled by the cold morning air and seized with a violent fever at San Clemente, but obstinately insisted on remounting his horse after a short halt. His energy was, however, conquered by illness, and he was carried in a litter to Villafranca di Panadès,[1] whither, fears being already entertained for his life, Alfonso hastened, full of anxiety, to see him. The king, who thought less of his own life than of the expedition against Majorca, reproached him, saying: "Wherefore did you leave the fleet? Are you a physician,

baldo Ferrarese, ibid. p. 142. Francesco Pipino, ibid. p. 693. Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 69. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.*

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 168. Montaner, ch. 140—142. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 97, 100. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 71.

that you should linger by my bedside? Let what God will become of me, but so much the more important is it to occupy Majorca without loss of time."[1]

The Infant therefore proceeded thither, and between negotiation and the force of arms succeeded with little difficulty in making himself master of the island.[2] The valour of the Sicilians was signally displayed on this occasion; for those most faithful to the King of Majorca, with the French and the Provençaux, had fortified themselves in a church situated on a height outside the town, where they had repulsed the repeated assaults of the Catalans and the inhabitants of the island; but when Alfonso, at the suggestion of the admiral, called in the aid of the Sicilians of the fleet, they raised the cry of "*Viva Sicilia!*" sounded the trumpets, and scaling the walls by the aid of ladders and oars, carried the stronghold at the first impetuous onset, and ended the war.[3]

It was about the same time that Charles II. of

[1] Montaner, ch. 143.
[2] Ibid. ch. 144. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 97.
[3] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 6.

Anjou traversed these seas, being sent from Sicily by the Infant; in obedience, says Neocastro, to the absolute commands of Peter, and to the counsels of Procida, who admonished him to make every consideration of his own advantage or that of the island give way before his duty to his father; but perhaps in reality because James, who had disputed the will of the king during his reverses, now hastened to obey the conqueror.[1] Therefore, probably after some negotiations, and perhaps also with the consent of Rome, (for we find a permission granted in April, 1285, by the Roman Court to two English monks, Hugh of St. Edmond and Walter of Seggefelt, to proceed to Sicily from King Edward, to visit and comfort the prisoner,[2]) James hastened to act for himself before his captive should be withdrawn from his jurisdiction. He went in person to see him at Cefalù; and, either from Charles's weariness of confinement, or his knowledge of the events in Aragon, obtained from him a promise that he would give up to him all claim upon the island, and bestow his daughter Blanche upon him in mar-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 99.

[2] Diploma to be found in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 296.

riage; while the two houses of Aragon and Anjou should moreover be connected by other intermarriages. The less these conditions were in reality valid and binding, owing to the captivity of Charles and the questionable right of James to conclude them, the more pains the Infant took to add weight to them, by oaths on the Gospels and double copies, the one for himself, the other to be sent to his father. Then selecting three trusty knights, Raymond Alamanno, Simon de Lauro, and William de' Ponti, he made them swear solemnly to consign the person of Charles of Anjou to King Peter; and if during the voyage they should encounter hostile forces, to defend themselves as long as they were able, but, if overpowered, to cut off the head of their prisoner, and throw him overboard; so that not even his corpse should remain in the hands of the enemy. From Cefalù they went to Palermo, whence Charles with the three knights embarked for Barcelona, arriving there just before the death of Peter.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 99. In ch. 112, he makes Charles repeat these conditions on his first interview with the Pope after his liberation. Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 72, affirms that the preliminaries of Cefalù were recorded in public docu-

After Alfonso had left him, the king, conscious that his illness was mortal, and anxious solemnly to exculpate himself from the guilt of the war carried on against the Pope, as Charles of Anjou had done on his death-bed from that of the war kindled by the Pope, summoned the Archbishop of Tarragona, with the Bishops of Valencia, Huesca, and other prelates and barons; and in their presence declared that it was not in hostility to the Holy See, but in pursuance of his rights that he had taken possession of the kingdom of Sicily; that he had not merited the excommunications of Martin, but had submitted to their observance as became a Christian; and now being about to appear before the judgment-seat of God, he asked absolution from the archbishop, promising that should he recover, (and here he again had recourse to equivocal expressions,) he would render obedience to the supreme Pontiff, according to right, and present himself before

ments. In Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1287, § 6, there is a brief of Honorius IV. given the 4th of March, 1287, in which we read that Charles the Lame, when a prisoner in Sicily, had negotiated the cession of that island, with those adjacent to it, and the diocese of Reggio. See also Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. bull of Nicholas IV. given March 15th, 1288.

him either in person or by ambassadors. This he confirmed by an oath, and the archbishop granted him absolution. Having been admonished to forgive his enemies, he gave orders for the liberation of his prisoners, not including, however, those of high degree. He left unaltered the will which he had made in 1282, at Port Fangos. He confessed himself aloud to two monks, then with great difficulty he rose from his bed, trembling and scarce able to stand, dressed himself, and kneeling down, weeping and inwardly praying, received the eucharist. He was informed of the surrender of Gerona and of the arrival of Charles from Sicily when only a glimmering of consciousness yet remained to him, and was unable to utter a word in reply; but he folded his arms in the form of a cross, raised his eyes to heaven, and expired on the 10th of November, 1285.[1]

[1] D'Esclot, ch. 168. Montaner, ch. 145, 146. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, *loc. cit.* Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 7. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 100. Chronicle of Parma, Ricobaldo Ferrarese, Francesco Pipino, *loc. cit.* Bofaruli, vol. ii. p. 245, who mentions no other will left by Peter than that made at Port Fangos. Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 71, who, in contradiction to the statement of Montaner, proves that Peter made no other will. He thus made no ultimate disposal of the kingdom of Sicily, thereby avoiding a step which would have deprived him of absolution, and leaving James none the less firmly seated on

Such was the end of Peter of Aragon. He died at the age of forty-six, in the prime of mental and bodily vigour, and at the summit of his fortune; for he beheld the host of France dispersed; the King of Majorca humbled; Charles of Anjou, Philip the Bold, and Pope Martin departed this life; the new King of Naples in his power; that kingdom in confusion; Sicily submissive and secure; his fleet mistress of the Mediterranean; and his own power so much increased by the fame of victory, that he was able everywhere to keep in check even his own rebellious subjects. In person tall, well-formed and powerful; in temper daring and persevering; with an intellect capable of conceiving great designs, without overlooking minute details; astute, secret, and indefatigable; he had all the qualities of a great captain, which, exercised in matters of state, became in him sometimes virtues and sometimes faults, according to the justice or injustice of the end in view, which he never regarded. Hence his imprudent dissensions with the Cortes of

the Sicilian throne, as he had been already recognised by the parliament of Messina. In the event of the death of Alfonso without children, he bequeathed the throne of Aragon successively to James, Frederick, and Peter.

Aragon; his questionable conduct towards the Sicilian barons; the frauds and artifices which he contrived with deep cunning; the ruthless vengeance against his enemies, to which he was impelled by the ferocity of the times; the fierceness of his own disposition indifferent to suffering or death whether for himself or others; and the sternness of his mind constantly absorbed in political considerations, blinded to the knowledge of his own good and that of others, incredulous of the rights of man, and steeled against the breath of charity. Sicily was fortunate in that she found him at her need, and was speedily freed from him, for he was of a nature always to be involved in contentions either at home or abroad. The evils of this oppressive energy and vigour were afterwards forgotten, and men bestowed upon Peter the well-merited surname of the Great.[1]

[1] These particulars are derived from all the historians of the time, whom it would be useless to quote; some are derived from Zurita, book iv. ch. 71.

"Quel che par sì membruto, e che s' accorda
Cantando con colui dal maschio naso,
D' ogni valor portò cinta la corda.
* * * * * Tant

For this same cause contemporary writers, not excepting those of Sicily, and even the Father of Italian poetry,[1] whose greatness so far outshone that of the contending sovereigns, exalt, together with that of the King of Aragon, the fame of his rival Charles of Anjou, who was distinguished for equal valour, and still more celebrated victories, and similarly accused of treachery, but being less skilful in the exercise of both fraud and violence, was outwitted and conquered by Peter, whose capacity was greater. The tyranny of Charles was more oppressive; in private he was envious and suspicious, in his government avaricious and rapacious; conniving at the excesses of his followers, cruel, despising the Italian people;[2] trampling under foot every right; hostile to every privilege, even from the time of his first domi-

Tant è del seme suo miglior la pianta,
Quanto, più che Beatrice e Margherita,
Costanza di marito ancor di vanta."

Dante, Purg. c. 7.

Carbonell, Op. cit. p. 70, writes that Peter was also called "il Francese;" but this appears too boastful, and the surname has with reason been forgotten.

[1] Purgatorio, c. 7.

[2] This peculiarity is recorded by Francesco Pipino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. ch. 19.

nation in Anjou; hating even his own subjects; and he was punished with the cruellest martyrdom that Heaven could inflict upon him, a lingering death embittered by the torment of beholding the strength and prosperity of that Sicily which had cursed him during her sufferings, and which gave him back shame for shame, and blood for blood; which shivered his sceptre, barred the path of his ambition, and combated his race for two centuries.

It was in vain that all the influence and power of the papacy was exerted in aid of Charles by Martin, whose life and death would have filled but a brief space in history, if, absorbed by national and party prejudices, and retaining under the pontifical mantle his ancient spirit of vassalage, he had not given rise to the scandals recorded above, deluging the two peninsulas in blood, despoiling all the churches of Europe, and profaning the weapons of the cross.

Urged on by the authority of the Pope as well as by vanity and covetousness, Philip the Third crossed the Pyrenees to rush into an unjust and unprofitable war, which cost him the life of seventy thousand of his followers as well as his

own, and caused his surname of "the Bold" to be called in question,[1] as his enormous preparations led only to the most deplorable result unmarked by any deed worthy of note, unless it be the massacres of Elna and of San Felipe.

Under these four sovereigns the half of Europe was convulsed by the act of vengeance known as the Sicilian Vespers, which was triumphantly defended by the weakest amongst them, against the united forces of the three more powerful. They all died in the same year, 1285, and from the ashes of their ambition sprung up new ambitions and new evils. But Sicily, released from the tie of common vassalage which bound her to Aragon, remained alone to maintain the struggle against the kingdom of Naples and the Pope, regulated her internal constitution by wiser laws, and rendered her name illustrious by more splendid feats of arms.

[1] "Morì fuggendo e disfiorando 'l giglio."—*Purg.* c. 7.

CHAPTER XIII.

WRECK OF THE FLEET ON ITS RETURN FROM SICILY.—JAMES CROWNED KING.—ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PALERMO.—PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO THE CATALANS.—WARLIKE ENTERPRISES.—EXECUTION OF ALAIMO OF LENTINI.—AGOSTA OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY, AND RETAKEN BY THE SICILIANS.—SECOND NAVAL VICTORY IN THE BAY OF NAPLES.—TREATY FOR THE LIBERATION OF CHARLES THE LAME.—INVASION OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES BY KING JAMES.—TRUCE OF GAETA.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR A GENERAL PEACE AND FOR A CRUSADE CONCLUDED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF SICILY.—DEATH OF ALFONSO KING OF ARAGON, WHO IS SUCCEEDED BY JAMES.—NOVEMBER, 1285, TO JUNE, 1291.

WHEN the news of the death of Peter, as announced to Alfonso at Majorca, spread through the Sicilian fleet, the crews, with the quick perception of our lower orders, were seized with an eager desire to return to their own country. And, in fact, no tie but that of friendship now remained to unite us with Aragon; it was to be feared, that the enemy might renew their attempts upon Sicily on the death of her valiant sovereign; and possibly minds so sharpened to mistrust might entertain a suspicion that the Catalans would desire to

retain the fleet. Hence the cry arose, "To Sicily! to Sicily!" and when the admiral returned a doubtful reply, representing the perils of navigation at this stormy season, when winter was about to set in, the crews encouraged by the vice-admiral, Frederick Falcone of Messina, became only the more obstinate, mutinously retorting, "To Sicily! and death to him who refuses!" This impulse of no blind or vulgar patriotism, blamed on account of its results by our historians, who consider only the evils which it brought upon the fleet and not those from which it saved Sicily, compelled the captains to set sail on the 23d of November, when there was every appearance of calm. The wind freshening, they were driven to Minorca They again set forth, but on the 3d of December the gale became so violent, that for three days they were tossed about in the utmost peril between Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, and in the Gulf of Lyons. The admiral gave orders to stand out to sea, to hoist lights that they might not fall foul of each other, to recaulk the seams, and then to run before the wind, giving themselves up to their fate. But in spite of all that skill and courage could do, two galleys from Messina, two

from Agosta, one from Catania, and one from Sciacca, foundered and were lost, Falcone perishing with them. The other forty flung overboard the booty taken from the French, and, after beating about for a long time, at length one by one in miserable plight reached the port of Trapani. No sooner had the admiral landed than he rode to Palermo, where arriving on the 12th of December, he first communicated the heavy tidings to the queen, and then sent to announce them to James at Messina. The death of the king caused great and general grief throughout the whole of Sicily; and it was noted that all the women put on mourning, made a public display of grief, and those who went to court, with unaccustomed sincerity, like mothers and sisters condoled with and comforted the deeply afflicted queen.[1]

The notables of the kingdom next directed their thoughts to the solemn inauguration of James, who had been recognised by the parliament of Messina in 1283, and had proclaimed himself king on receiving the news of his father's death on the 18th of December.[2] Summoning,

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 101. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 8.
[2] Neocastro and Speciale, *loc. cit.* Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 47.

therefore, the prelates, barons, and syndics of the cities and townships throughout the island, they assembled in parliament at Palermo on the 2d of February, 1286. Thither James repaired, with the Queen, and the Infant Don Frederick, and was crowned in the name of God, and of the Virgin, by the Bishop of Cefalù, the Archimandrite of Messina, and many other Sicilian prelates, as well as the Bishops of Nicastro and Squillaci. During the subsequent days of festivity, rendered magnificent by the opulence and luxury of the numerous powerful barons, James at his own cost conferred the honour of knighthood upon four hundred Sicilian nobles: distributed numerous favours, and granted many fiefs which had lapsed to the exchequer on the expulsion of the French barons, both to do honour to this joyful occasion and to increase the number of his supporters within the realm, beyond the confines of which he beheld only feeble friends and wrathful adversaries. For the same reason, during the sitting of this parliament on the 5th of February, he promulgated the *constitutions and immunities* as they were then called, incorporated with the laws of the kingdom

of Sicily under the head of acts of King James, and written in the language of concession, though dictated perhaps by the notables, and certainly by the will of the nation. For in the parliament of Catania Peter had promised rather than carried out reforms, and in that of Messina he had only regulated the number and the powers of the ministers of the crown; while the acts of the parliament of Santo Martino, and those still more recent of Pope Honorius, both of them the manifest consequences of the Sicilian revolution, had granted to the kingdom of Naples securities much greater than Sicily had retained as the immediate effect of the Vespers. It was, therefore, necessary to make equal concessions in the island kingdom, and to remove the causes of the discontent which was already breaking forth in various forms.[1]

These reforms were in great part copied from those of Honorius, which in some points they exceeded. They commenced with a brief statement of the social compact, which according to all

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 102, in which we read that James wished to relieve the people from all oppression, *if any existed.* Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 9. Montaner, ch. 148. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 28, *loc. cit.* Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 47.

civil right, unites the ruler with the subject. The king went on to promise effectual protection to all persons and property belonging to the Church, without those disproportionate privileges however which the Court of Rome exacted in Apulia. As to the public revenue, the oppressive burdens of the times of Charles being carefully removed, the collections were restricted to the four well-known feudal occasions, and the sum to fifteen thousand ounces of gold on those of hostile occupation of the country, and rebellion or captivity of the sovereign; and to five thousand on the other two. It was added, that in no case could more than one collection be made within a year. The alienation of crown lands, tending to the increase of public burdens, was forbidden,[1] and the abolition of the right of naval service, already proclaimed by Peter, was confirmed. The administration of civil and criminal justice was regulated with a view to increased expedition and mildness, and freed from many encroachments of the exchequer, amongst which was the fine upon communes for non-apprehension of murderers; it was decreed that every law-suit should be concluded within

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia: Jacobus, ch. 1—7, 9, 44.

two months, or should be referred to the superior court, and that bail should be accepted; a restraint was placed upon accusers, special guarantees were provided in cases of civil suits against the exchequer, and still more effectual ones in those of impeachment for high treason.[1] Various harsh statutes, or abuses which had crept into the public administration, were also abrogated, such as change of coinage, forced loans to the government, compulsory farming of public offices, transport of specie, seizure of shipwrecked goods, royal preserves, custody of prisoners, inquisitions, and prohibition of marriages;[2] and an attempt was made to put an end to the extortions and acts of violence of the officials, castellans, retainers of the crown, and other burdensome classes.[3] For the benefit of the feudataries, military service was regulated and moderated; the obligation to furnish vessels of war abolished; the ability of brothers, and their descendants as far as the third generation, to inherit fiefs, decreed; and various other beneficial statutes promulgated.[4] In their

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia: Jacobus, ch. 15—18, 23, 27, 42, 43, 45.

[2] Ibid. ch. 8, 10—13, 22, 24—26, 28—30.

[3] Ibid. ch. 14, 19—21. [4] Ibid. ch. 31—37, 39.

favour it was moreover forbidden that their retainers, whether enrolled or otherwise, should become burgesses of towns, although those who were only connected with the baron by the tenure of landed property were free to depart on resigning it into his hands; an unjust regulation, though rendered necessary by the usages of the times, which yet gives evidence of the development subsequently to the Vespers of popular principles in the municipalities, which not only invited but even compelled the vassals of the barons to unite themselves with them.[1] Lastly, the personal property of Charles and his followers, appropriated during the revolution, was confirmed to its present possessors, with the addition that no one should be called to account for the administration of any public office in the time of the Angevins.[2] These laws, and others of less importance,[3] were proclaimed amidst the rejoicings incident to the coronation. Those imposing restraints upon the power of magistrates and officials were afterwards but carelessly observed, so that, in consequence of the remonstrances of

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia; Jacobus, ch. 38.
[2] Ibid. ch. 46, 47. [3] Ibid. ch. 40, 41.

the cities, James renewed them not long after in an altered form, decreeing penalties on the transgressors; thus forming twenty-seven more acts, which I mention here, because it is not exactly known in what year they were published, nor is it of much importance to inquire.[1]

Another measure of the new sovereignty was to bind itself by a treaty of friendship and commerce with Aragon, from whence alone it could hope for succour. A league offensive and defensive, which should embrace the whole of their forces, was therefore concluded between the two kings. It appears certain that Roger Loria conducted the negotiations, and accepted the conditions in Aragon in the name of James, in presence of Conrad Lancia, and other nobles;[2] in Sicily in that of Alfonso; in proof of which we have the diploma given by James in Palermo, on the 12th of February, and subscribed, together with him, by several witnesses—bishops, counts, and other persons of note, amongst whom we find the names of Mastrangelo, Palmiero Abate now returned from Catalonia, and

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia: Jacobus, ch. 48—64.
[2] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 75.

the historian Bartholomew de Neocastro, of the court of exchequer. A few days after a permission was granted to all Catalans to take in cargoes of grain in the Sicilian ports, on payment of a moderate tax; to those resident in the island to elect a consul, with however only civil jurisdiction, saving the right of appeal to the king; and to reclaim their property in cases of shipwreck. With these franchises, which were stated to be what in fact they were, rewards for past services rendered, and encouragement for others yet to come, James sought to tempt the Catalans to trade in the island, as Manfred had formerly done with regard to the Genoese; whose privilege, reducing the customs dues to one-third, was extended two years afterwards by James, with others of great moment, to the citizens of Barcelona. Lastly, he attempted to soften the wrath of the Pope, by a message of obedience and devotion, sent by Gilbert Castelletto, a Catalan knight, and Bartholomew de Neocastro, who records the answer of Honorius, to the effect, that the words of the Sicilians were good and eloquent, but their actions infamous, and that consequently their requests could not be

listened to. This was the third repulse given by Rome to proffers of peace from Sicily.[1]

Honorius did more; he renewed the excommunications of Pope Martin, appointed a new term for submission, and angrily summoned the Bishops of Cefalù and Nicastro to exculpate themselves for the part they had taken in the coronation. They however obeyed no more than the rest of the Sicilians,[2] whose arms in the meantime were not without effect. At the commencement of the year 1286, Taranto, Castrovillari, and Morano, went over to the enemy, being unable longer to endure the rapacity of the "almugaveri;" but another better disciplined, and still more daring band of the latter, advancing into Principato, took possession of Castell' Abate, near Salerno. Not long after, William Calcerando, being sent to govern the Calabrias, retook and again lost Castrovillari and Morano,[3] and carried on the war with such vigour, that towards the end of the summer the Angevin rulers called out all the feudal militias to

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 105, 106.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1286, §§ 6—9.

[3] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 101. Montaner, ch. 116, who erroneously states that James himself took part in this expedition.

oppose him. But the success at sea was more decisive. While Loria, who had gone with two galleys to Catalonia, taking with him in addition six Catalan ones, swept the coasts of Provence, James fitted out two small squadrons, one in the port of Palermo, of twelve galleys, commanded by Bernard Sarriano, a Sicilian knight,[1] and manned by Palermitans and men of Val di Mazzara; the other in the port of Messina, of twenty galleys, manned probably by Messinese and men of the east coast, and commanded by Berenger Villaraut. The first of these, on the 8th of June, made sail for the Gulf of Naples, where at the first assault it obtained possession of Capri and Procida, causing so much alarm in Naples, that Cardinal Gherardo hastened to have the chain and other defences of the port put into repair. Sarriano remained amongst the islands the whole summer, in order to capture the vessels trading in the Bay, and at the beginning of September, advancing as far as the Roman shores, he invested the Castle of Astura, rendered infamous by the capture of Conradin. Burning for revenge, the Sicilians mounted to the assault,

[1] Montaner, ch. 149.

thrust through with a lance the lord of the castle, son of that Frangipane who sold Conradin to King Charles; massacred his followers; and would not be content without setting fire to the town. On their return they ravaged the shores of Castellamare, Sorrento, Positano, and Amalfi; and sailed back to Palermo. The other squadron returned at the same time with equal gain and glory, to pass the winter in Messina, whence it had sailed on the 22d of June in the direction of Capo delle Colonne; from thence it scoured the seas of Cotrone, Taranto, and Gallipoli, capturing all hostile vessels, but not molesting those engaged in trade with Venice. It offered battle at Brindisi, and having waited three days for the enemy's galleys, which would not quit the port on any provocation, it sailed upon Corfù, to seek a remnant of Charles's armament against Greece. Here our crews disembarked, encountered a band of French mercenaries, defeated them, sacked the town, and again burst unexpectedly upon the Apulian coasts, before taking port at Messina. Thus, both in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic the Sicilian fleets vexed the kingdom whose bondage they had so lately shared, and whose

galleys were forced to seek shelter in her ports, while the trade of her merchant vessels was interrupted, and the towns and villages of the coast deplored the ravages of the war.[1]

James sullied the laurels thus acquired by an act of cruel vengeance. He perceived that, here and there, feelings of discontent still rankled; he learnt that Alaimo of Lentini was on the point of obtaining from King Alfonso his own liberty, and that of his nephews, and he hastened to compass his destruction. For this purpose he despatched to Catalonia, Bertram de Cannellis, a Catalan, who, in Majorca, fell in with Adenulf of Mineo, who had been lately released from prison, because Alaimo, by the offer of ten thousand ounces of gold, had convinced Alfonso of his innocence; whereupon he and one of his nephews were set at liberty, while the other was sent to Sicily to fetch the money. But Bertram spoiled the bargain, by bringing back Adenulf in chains to the Court of Aragon, and confounding the king by his energetic remonstrances, pleading that the three should be given up to the sovereign power of the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 102—104. Montaner, ch. 109, 113, 116, 148, 149, 152, with some anachronisms.

King of Sicily, as his subjects; instigators of treason in the island; men of power and influence, who could, at any moment, raise the whole of Sicily in rebellion, and cause the destruction of James, his brothers, the mother of both the kings, and every man who spoke the Catalan tongue. At first Alfonso resisted, but the ambassador persisting, and almost accusing the king of Aragon of complicity with the traitors, at length carried his point. The prisoners having been given up to him, he embarked them under a strong escort, and caused them to confess themselves to a Minorite friar, before, as he said, encountering the perils of so long a voyage, beset with enemies and pirates. They set sail from Catalonia on the 16th of May, 1287, and on the 2d of June, at the distance of fifty miles from Marettimo, the crews gladly hailed the shores of Sicily, when Bertram summoned the prisoners on deck.

Turning to Alaimo, he bade him gaze his fill on the welcome sight of his country; whereupon the noble old man exclaimed, "Oh, Sicily! oh, my country! how have I longed for thee, and yet happy would it have been for me, if from the time of my first infant wailings I had never beheld

thee more!" The Catalan hesitated a few moments, perhaps from pity, and then replied: "Hitherto you have heard only my mind, noble Alaimo; now that of the king must be heard and obeyed;" and he unfolded a written scroll, which Adenulf read. It was a mandate of the king, stating, that 'whereas Alaimo of Lentini, Adenulf of Mineo, and John of Mazarino, had aforetime planned a vast and iniquitous conspiracy against the island and the Royal House of Sicily, and were guilty of sundry other misdeeds; and whereas their living on in confinement was judged to be of great peril to the state, the peace of which it was incumbent on him to preserve even by the utmost rigours of justice, the king committed to Bertram the charge of seizing them in Catalonia, and flinging them overboard on the first sight of the shores of Sicily.

Alaimo showed neither surprise, nor fear of death; nor did he utter word of complaint, or dwell vainly on the past; only he resented the refinement of cruelty which had selected such a scene for such a punishment, and denied him sepulture in the land of his fathers. Yet with Christian resignation he prayed for the king, and

even for his executioners. "I have lived," said he, "a life of sorrow and suffering even to my old age, and now I close it without honour. I lived not for myself, but for others, and for others I must die. My misdeeds (and here, perchance, he thought of the exaltation of Peter, and the death of Walter)—my misdeeds have been greater than they are deemed by man, and I have deserved a more cruel death than this; let it, at least, bring peace to my country, and put an end to suspicion." He then himself asked for the piece of linen cloth which was to be the instrument of death as well as the bier and shroud of the hero of Messina. The executioners swathed and fastened it round him, and flung him into the sea; the two young men shared his fate. The guilty vessel cast anchor at Trapani, and the news of the death of Alaimo spread horror throughout Sicily. All remembered his noble birth, his lofty intellect and courage in matters both of war and policy, the power to which he attained, and the insane arrogance of Macalda, which caused his ruin; his friends trembled, and the cautious whispered that the king must surely have had weighty cause for what he had done. These rumours are mentioned

in somewhat obscure language by Neocastro, who records with sympathising grief the execution and the memorable words of Alaimo, perhaps the best, and certainly the greatest man, of whom Sicily had to boast in the revolution of the Vespers.[1]

The war was, meantime, being carried on against the enemy on the eastern coast. Upon the death of Peter, and in the spring which followed, they meditated an assault upon the island, but our fleet attacking them in both the Mediterranean and Adriatic, they had enough to do to defend themselves. At the new year, however, they sought to assume the initiative in the attack, in order, at least, to remove the seat of the war from their own country. They knew, moreover, that the admiral was absent, and the fleet disarmed, and were further incited by the two monks, Perrone and del Monte, arrested two years before as conspirators at Messina, and

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 107—109. That John of Mazarino was declared guilty of treason is confirmed by a diploma of King James, given at Messina the 5th of August, 1288, by which a tower and farm near Trapani, being part of his confiscated estates, are granted to a noble named Bernard Milo; and by another diploma, of the 30th July of the same year, granting to one Villanuova the hamlet of Mazarino. Both are to be found in the MSS. of the public library of Palermo.

released by James, not from clemency, but weakness; in return for which they now stirred up fresh disturbances from the mainland, by declaring that the threads of the conspiracy, which the king had failed effectually to eradicate, still existed in Sicily, especially at Agosta, Lentini, Catania, and other towns in those regions; and that with a small force, sufficient to make head against the first attacks, round which the partisans might rally, they would answer for the success of the enterprise. These arguments they tried first upon Pope Honorius, but he heeded them not; whereupon they turned to Cardinal Gherardo and the Count of Artois, who heard them gladly.[1] The two regents, therefore, called out the militias, took other Italians and French into their pay, procured money by collections and so-called benevolences from the cities;[2] and collected and equipped at Brindisi, observing the strictest secresy as to their destination, forty galleys, five

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. The Guelfs found Pope Honorius so lukewarm in this enterprise, that he is openly blamed for it by Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 113. Yet we find him dealing very harshly with the House of Aragon, in the negotiations for the liberation of Charles the Lame.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110, and various diplomas.

hundred horse, and five thousand foot, under the command of Rainald d'Avella, a Neapolitan knight, of renowned valour. The Holy See was represented in the army by the Bishop of Martorano, as legate, and Richard Morrone, as captain, with the proclamation of the crusade and the banners of the Church, Honorius not being able to refuse these demonstrations when the forces were furnished by others. At the same time forty-three galleys and other vessels, and a still larger military array, assembled at Sorrento, with all the principal feudataries of the kingdom, to attempt another enterprise, and to keep the foe in suspense.

The fleet sailed from Brindisi on the 15th of April, touched at Malta, and on the first of May suddenly appeared at Agosta, taking advantage of the time when the inhabitants, going to the fair at Lentini, had left the town deserted, and the castle carelessly guarded. Thus the landing was effected without a blow being struck; but when they sought a friendly parley within those walls which, twenty years before, their countrymen had defiled with so hideous a massacre, the infirm citizens who had alone remained in Agosta returned

a dignified answer, admonishing them never to expect amity from them, or to look for aught but war from every Sicilian city. The strangers, retorting that they came by the will of the Pope, a feeble old man, Paccio by name, thus replied:—"We regard the Church as our mother, but he who now rules her as our enemy, since he sends weapons and combatants to fight against us. Inquire now of the legate whether God ever commanded Christian blood to be shed in order to reduce Christians to servitude. If he tells you that He has so enjoined, he misbelieves the Gospel; and let him learn from us that the only weapons given to the Church by the Christian faith, are humility, the cross, and words of meekness." Such were in those days the sentiments of Sicily! The town and castle being occupied by the enemy, the citizens did not return to Agosta, and the alarm having spread throughout the neighbourhood, the herds were driven off, the open country abandoned, and the inhabitants sought refuge in the strongholds, resolved on an obstinate defence.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 10. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 117, who states Rainald d'Avella's ships to have amounted to fifty. Montaner, ch. 106, with many errors as to time and proper names.

James learnt the tidings in Messina, whither he had repaired for the greater facility of carrying on the war, but where he now lay inactive, deceived perhaps by representations of the supineness of the enemy. But for this he amply atoned. Instantly summoning the neighbouring towns and feudataries to arms, and commanding all the galleys of the island to put to sea, he in person harangued the Messinese, calling them his people, his, he repeated, only by the rights of friendship and citizenship; and commended himself to Loria as a son to a father. The latter, who had lately returned from cruising with the Catalans on the coasts of France, and doing homage to Alfonso on his coronation at Saragossa, now recovering his former greatness in the hour of peril, hastened to Messina to arm the vessels, followed by the valiant people, who with emulous zeal aided him in the work, taking even their scanty food and rest within the arsenal, and urged on by the praises, caresses, and example of the admiral, who with his own hands took part in the labour. He was thus toiling one night, soiled with smoke, his arms bare, and in his doublet, when some familiar of the court whispered to him that the king hold-

ing counsel with his most trusty adherents concerning the conduct of the war, the latter had suggested to him to give the slip to the admiral, whose zeal, despite all this bravado, was cooled, even if his fidelity were not shaken. Thereupon Roger hastened just as he was to the palace, and in presence of the king broke forth into reproaches against his adversaries, who lingered in slothful luxury in the royal halls, while he was scouring the seas, braving foes and tempests and securing their indolent repose by his victories: then turning to James he resigned the command. Discomfited by this abrupt address, the courtiers hung their heads; the king, who had warmly defended the admiral during his absence, entreated him to do what he himself desired, namely, to retain the command; and he resumed with redoubled ardour the equipment of the fleet, which was in readiness in six days. James, leaving his mother in the Castle of Matagrifone, and Messina loyal and well supplied, proceeded on the 4th of May with only ten companions to Taormina. On the 6th he advanced to Aci and Catania, where were assembled a thousand horse and many thousand foot, composed of feudal, civic, and mercenary bands.

That very day an attempt had been made upon Catania by the enemy, confiding in the machinations of the two friars. They had gained over many young men eager for innovation, who secretly introduced into the city and concealed in a house twelve French men-at-arms. These were to open the water-gate at night, and give admittance to a strong detachment, which, leaving Agosta, posted itself in ambush two miles from Catania, while a division of the fleet showed itself off the town. But the people on beholding the ships rushed to arms, and stopped the traitors within and the enemies without the walls; the king arriving with the forces, and having cognizance of the former, caused them to be secretly watched, while the latter retired in the night. They were, however, severely handled in a sharp skirmish by only ten horse and fifty crossbowmen of Catania who had sallied forth without the knowledge of the king, under Martin Lopez, a Catalan, and Messer Forte Tedeschi of Catania, whom James rewarded with the post of Governor of Aci. In the darkness they routed the rear-guard as it repassed the Simeto, and cutting the ropes of the raft, they slew or made prisoners

many of the French, while the greater number perished in the river. Catania presented in the succeeding days a joyful spectacle to a Sicilian heart. The admiral anchored there with twenty-seven galleys, followed soon after by thirteen others; the feudal militia assembled in great force; and while the king was proposing to call a parliament to ask for funds, they were liberally supplied to him by the citizens of Catania, amongst whom a widow, Agatha Seminara by name, presented him with two hundred ounces of gold, and all her jewels, for the defence of her country. Amongst the leaders of the host we find the Catalan William Calcerando, and the Sicilians, Richard Passaneto of Lentini, Richard of Santa Sofia, Raymond Alamanno the king's marshal, Conrad Lancia, Matthew of Termini, Antonio Papé of Piazza; and amongst the warlike youths on board the Catalan galleys is especially noted one Niccolò la Currula, who could wrestle with a bull and bring him to the ground. These forces were immediately directed against Agosta. The night before the thirteenth of May the fleet sailed, and at day-break the king went forth with the troops, twelve days after the occu-

pation by the enemy; in which time forty galleys had been armed, as well as considerably more than a thousand horse, and many thousand foot.[1] Such was the energy of James, the readiness of his subjects, and the strength of the covenant which bound king and people to each other! We read, indeed, that at that time all hearts beat anxiously, the events of Agosta having increased the suspicions of revolutionary humours. But these were only the faint vestiges of the national discontent, removed by the reforms of James, and of some individual rancour occasioned by his acts of severity, a blot on his character which at this crisis did not prevent the interests of the nation from being identical with those of the king.

Loria was the first to arrive at Agosta with the fleet, and not finding that of the enemy, he landed at once and began the attack; so that a sharp conflict was engaged in the streets of the deserted city between our crews and the enemy's

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. Atanasio d'Aci, in di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. i. p. 279, &c. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 10. None of these writers give the exact number of James's forces except the naval ones. But Neocastro gives him 1,000 horse the first day that he came to Catania, and says, that the number of horse in the army had much increased, and that of the foot still more. Montaner, ch. 107, puts the horse at 700, the foot at 3,000.

horse, which at first had the advantage. But when Roger, in order to make victory a matter of vital necessity to his followers, caused the ladders of the galleys to be withdrawn, the Sicilians rallied, and barricading the street with barrels and other wood-work, did such execution with their arrows, that they drove back Rainald's forces into the castle, and made themselves masters of the town. Great scandal was given on this occasion by the Preaching Friars, who, instigated by the unhallowed rage of their brethren Perrone and del Monte, appeared on the roof of their convent to insult the Sicilians engaged with the enemy; in consequence of which some of them were slain, others shut themselves up in the fortress with the enemy, and two fell into the hands of the admiral. One of these, a Capuan, gave information of the forces assembling at Sorrento against Val di Mazzara, and that the fleet having quitted Agosta was making sail towards Marsala with Henry de' Mari, a citizen of that town and partisan of the French. James, arriving the same day, beheld the standard of Sicily displayed upon the walls of Agosta, so that now the united forces could encamp to north, south, and west against the castle, which,

though situated in the plain, was of great strength, but ill supplied with water, and scantily provisioned by Rainald, who dreaming only of conquest, was far from expecting to find himself so soon overtaken by the foe.[1]

But before commencing the siege of the castle, the king, warned by the disclosures of the friar, committed the command of Marsala to Berardo di Ferro, the personal enemy of de' Mari, giving orders likewise that the garrison should be augmented by Boniface and Oberto di Camerana, of Corleone, (of Lombard origin,)[2] with the men of that city, who had showed themselves so keen in the first outbreak of the revolution; that the *condottieri* and warriors of greatest repute from the mountains should go down to reinforce the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 10.

[2] Diploma of the Emperor Frederick, given at Cremona, the 20th February, 1248. From this we learn that Oddone di Camerana, with many other Lombards, leaving their country for the cause of the Emperor, came to Sicily, where first Scopello, and, that not sufficing, afterwards the town of Corleone was given in fief to Oddone. But that being rich, populous, and strong, was resumed as a part of his own domain by the Emperor, who gave in exchange for it Militello, in Val di Noto, which had reverted to him on the extinction of the family of Lentini (a collateral branch, perhaps, of that of Alaimo), which held it in fief. MSS. of the public library of Palermo, Q. q. G. 12.

maritime cities; that their walls and bastions should be repaired; and that patrols should be established everywhere along the coast to detect the hostile fleet. It put to shore near Marsala, attempted to storm the city, and was repulsed. Henry de' Mari, having joined with twelve galleys more, they again disembarked, but being beaten back in this second attempt with greater loss, they made sail for Naples, without attempting further molestation to the island.[1]

All the arts of war in use at that time were employed at the siege of Agosta, after the king, through Conrad Lancia, had repeatedly offered terms of surrender. We read that the approaches were made in a species of parallel, a wall being raised to protect the workmen; that the smiths of the fleet constructed movable turrets on wheels, cranes and a cat to batter the walls, which was afterwards burnt in a sortie by the besieged; that from catapults and other engines, stones were showered into the castle, which were the more destructive that they were aimed so as to rebound; and Neocastro affirms, that one Castiglione, an engineer of the fleet, directed the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 48.

catapult with such nicety, as at each discharge to hit the only well within the castle. Thus, although the enemy firmly repulsed all assaults, owing to the advantages of the situation and their own numbers, yet the latter served to increase the slaughter, as but few discharges of the assailants failed to tell; and they suffered still more from the stench of the corpses, the scantiness and foulness of the water, and the extremity of hunger which reduced them to the necessity of devouring horses, and sucking their blood. On the thirty-fourth day, disappointed in the prospect of rain, and seeing no hope of succour, the Apulians of the garrison rose in resistance under John Boccatorsola, a young Neapolitan knight, who remonstrated sharply with the legate; but they were overpowered by artifice, Boccatorsola taken and beheaded, and the unarmed mutineers expelled from the castle, the French flinging amongst them from their engines the body of their leader and driving them away with showers of stones. They came to the Sicilian lines, and were repulsed for fear of treachery, and for three days the ill-fated band, placed between two enemies and tortured

with hunger and thirst, cried despairingly for mercy. They obtained it at length from James, escaping only with their lives. Rainald d'Avella, with the legate and the remains of the garrison, surrendered on the same terms, after a siege of forty days, on the 23d of June, 1287, and at the same moment, Fra Perrone of Aidone, the original author of this deplorable sacrifice of human life, either in order to escape from punishment, or from the mortification of the failure of the expedition, ran his head violenly against a wall, and ended his stormy life by suicide.[1]

On the same day the Sicilian flag obtained a glorious victory in the Bay of Naples. The engines of war having been perfected at the siege of Agosta, the admiral sailed to Marsala, where, not finding the foe, he returned to the king, and they together decided to attack without delay the other armament equipped on the Mediterranean. The admiral accordingly directed his course to Sorrento, reinforced by five Paler-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 10, 12, with fewer details. Giovanni Villani, book vii. ch. 117. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 48. Montaner, ch. 107, with an error as to date, and the addtion of some not very credible circumstances.

mitan galleys, under the command of Palmiero Abate, and having, says Speciale, promised a largess to his followers, or rather, that all the spoil taken in the expedition should be the property of the individual captor, as stated by Montaner, who understood these matters better, and who attributes to this custom the marvellous achievements of these wars. Here, on the 16th of June, Loria learnt that the fleet lay almost in readiness at Castellamare; he went himself to reconnoitre, and, resolved to hasten the battle, he wrote a challenge to the hostile admiral, a noble, named Narzone. The fleet of the latter consisted of eighty-four large vessels, between galleys and others, in which he embarked the bulk of the forces, with many knights and nobles, and those great feudataries who were but little inferior to the king himself, the Counts of Montfort, Joinville, Flanders, Brienne, Aquila, and Monopoli, with the eldest son of the Count of Avellino; so that this was afterwards called the Battle of the Counts. In the centre of the fleet, drawn up in battle array, the Angevin admiral took his post, filling his galley with the flower of the youth, surrounded in front, in flank, and in rear,

by eight others, and causing the banners of the Church, and of the Princes of Anjou, to be unfolded on board two huge vessels. The Sicilian eagles, on the other hand, were displayed by forty galleys, drawn up by Loria, in what order we know not, but only that he apportioned their several duties to all on board, some of whom were to discharge stones and arrows, others to grapple with, and board the hostile vessels. At break of day, on the 23d of June, a loud whistle was heard from our *capitana*,[1] the fleet got under weigh, and on the animated exhortation of Loria, shouting aloud the sacred name of Christ, and of *Nostra Donna delle Scale*, it bore down upon the Papal flag.

William Trara was the first to strike the enemy's line, from which four galleys immediately detached themselves to envelop him, and others were following them, when the galleys of Milazzo, Lipari, and Trapani, then those of Syracuse, Catania, Agosta, and Taormina, and, lastly, those of Cefalù, Eraclea, Licata, and Sciacca, rushed to the rescue; so that Trara was disengaged, and the conflict became general. Our

[1] The galley of the admiral, or commander; flag-ship.—*Trans.*

vessels were in numbers as one against two; but they had greater naval experience, and the confidence of victory, and were encouraged by the admiral, who, clad in glittering armour, stood in the sight of all on the lofty stern of his galley, issuing his commands. Thus the day was long and murderously contested, until the enemy being weary and the Genoese galleys remaining inactive beside them, the Sicilians advanced impetuously to board, and the flight towards Naples began. This decided the victory,—the fourth gained by Sicily in pitched battle on the seas during the war; and the noblest of all, owing to the inequality of forces, the obstinacy of the conflict, and the number of captured vessels. It had as much effect in changing the fortune of the struggle as the first one in the Bay of Naples, three years before, or as that off Cape St. Sebastian; but these acquired greater celebrity; the former owing to the capture of Prince Charles, the latter by the liberation of Catalonia from the arms of France. Many thousands, both of friends and foes, fell on this bloody day; and the splendour of the triumph was augmented by the capture of forty-four galleys, with the standards, the

hostile admiral, all the counts, thirty-two nobles, and four or five thousand men. Loria sent them to Messina, under an escort of ten Sicilian galleys; having, in savage requital of the barbarities of the enemy, or in compliance with the atrocious custom of the times and of those wars, blinded several of his prisoners. With the remaining thirty galleys, he hastened to present himself before the port of Naples.[1]

Here the people, according to custom, accused their rulers of the late calamity, and clamoured, and would have risen in rebellion, if the admiral had done anything to follow up his success, or if Cardinal Gherardo and the Count d'Artois,

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 110, 111. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 11. Montaner, ch. 105, with some errors in date and circumstances. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 117. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 48. Chronicle of Parma, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 812. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 22, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. Chronicle of Rouen, in Labbe, Bibl. manuscripta, vol. i. p. 381: and several diplomas attesting the blinding of prisoners after this battle. Until we find documents relating to earlier periods, similar to these (which, painful as they are, I have not the less faithfully recorded,) we may believe with Montaner, ch. 118, that such cruelties were an act of reprisal on the part of Roger Loria, and only exercised by him long after he had seen the enemy put out the eyes and cut off the hands of the prisoners taken from him in battle; and this, though far from justifying such proceedings, may at least serve as some extenuation of them. Montaner adds, that these reprisals caused the enemy to desist from such unhallowed practices.

hastening to the spot while it was yet time, had not restrained them by their influence. Roger turned his victory to account by concluding a bargain with the regents for a truce of two years upon the seas, in consideration of a large sum of money. This he did without authority from the king, and without benefit to Sicily; thus giving the enemy time to repair their loss and to arrest the course of their ill-fortune. Hence, in the counsels of James, the rivals of the admiral redoubled their accusations, and whispered of treason; but John of Procida, who was foremost in the king's favour, obtained pardon for his fault in consideration of his glory, deeming it dangerous to provoke such a man, or desiring to retain him for the support of his own influence at court.

Thus, when Loria returned to Messina with the fleet, the triumph, though undisturbed, was marked by no great exultation. It is worthy of record, that on the surrender of Agosta, James forbade all public rejoicings (excepting psalms of thanksgiving) for this victory over the banners of the Church. He carefully repaired the fortifications of the Castle of Agosta, strengthened both it and the town and castle by surrounding them

with a wall; and as it had been well-nigh depopulated by the massacre of 1268, and by the late siege, he repeopled it, by the promise of property and immunities to all Catalans and Sicilians who should take up their abode there. Of the prisoners, Rainald d'Avella and the Bishop of Martorano were ransomed by the cession of the Castle of Ischia; so faithfully did the regents act towards them; but the citizens of Naples held it a disgrace, that, for the space of twelve years, the Sicilians, thus holding the mouth of the bay, exacted a tribute of a golden florin upon every barrel of wine exported, twice as much upon oil, and a proportionate sum upon other articles of commerce. The other counts and nobles redeemed themselves with gold, except Guy de Montfort, he who feared not to assassinate the innocent Henry of England in the temple of the Lord, who died of illness in the prisons of Messina.[1]

Strong in these victories and in her internal prosperity, Sicily remained quiet about the space of two years, notwithstanding the invectives

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 12. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 111. Montaner, ch. 108, 113, with an error as to date.

launched against her by Pope Nicholas IV. immediately upon his inauguration, on Holy Thursday of the year 1288.[1] During the truce negotiations for peace were also carried on, but by foreign powers, and therefore to her disadvantage. For the peace between England and France being doubtful and insecure, Edward, who had much prudent foresight in state affairs, feared the aggrandizement of the latter kingdom by the war against Aragon; and in order to remove the cause of it, he strove, under the appearance of friendship, to procure the liberation of Charles the Lame, and the conclusion of peace. Such was the object of his negotiation, of which mention has already been made in the time of King Peter;[2] and with the same intent, moved, as he said, by the prayers of the sons of Charles, and of the notables of Provence, he devised a congress at Bordeaux of the orators of Aragon, France, Castile, Majorca, and the legates of the Holy See;[3] and going to Paris on the 25th July, 1286, he concluded a truce between France and

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1288, §§ 10, 11.

[2] See Chapter XII.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. diplomas of the 5th February, 2d and 13th May, and 29th June, 1286, pp. 315, 317—319.

Aragon,[1] being unable to effect a peace, as the knot was one very difficult to unloose. James, entrenching himself behind the preliminaries granted him in Cefalù, by Charles himself, demanded, besides the matrimonial alliance, Sicily, the diocese of Reggio, and the tribute of Tunis. Rome, doing battle for the Princes of Anjou more obstinately than they themselves desired, insisted peremptorily on the restitution of Sicily; Alfonso, urged on by family and national interest, supported his brother; the King of France, restrained by the Court of Rome and Charles of Valois, would make no concessions. Edward, unable to shake the determination of the Pope, who feared nothing, turned himself to Alfonso, who was kept under considerable restraint by the Cortes of Aragon and Catalonia, impatient of such accumulated evils incurred in the support of interests foreign to themselves, and further disturbed by the reappearance of French arms in Roussillon. Alfonso hesitated, then persuaded by Edward, began to detach himself from the cause of his

[1] Rymer, *loc. cit.* pp. 326, 328—333, two diplomas of the 15th July, 1286, and others of the 22d, 24th, and 25th of the same month. Another of the 15th July, in Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anecd. vol. i. p. 1217.

brother by a convention concluded at Oléron in Béarn. This treaty appeared unsatisfactory to the Court of Rome, which disavowed it, and therefore it was remodelled by the patient princes the following year at Campofranco; where the guarantees of Oléron having been diminished, and such portions of the treaty left in doubt as could not be agreed upon, Alfonso liberated the prisoner, without concluding express stipulations either for James or for Sicily, thereby postponing to his own interests the incontestable rights of Sicily, by whose arms, and not by those of Aragon, the prince had been captured in the Bay of Naples. Thereupon Charles II., leaving three of his sons prisoners in his room, and having paid to Alfonso thirty thousand marks of silver, went forth from confinement at the beginning of November, 1288. He swore that he would return to captivity if within a year he did not procure peace for Aragon; but the Pope absolved him from his oath, as well as Edward and the Barons who were sureties, tore in pieces and annulled, as exorbitant in its pretensions, the treaty of Campofranco penned by an official of the Court of Rome, and continued to grant the ecclesiastical

tithes to the King of France, and to make a display of favouring the enterprise of Valois, in order effectually to separate Alfonso from his brother, and to obtain, without any further equivalent, the liberation of the sons of Charles the Lame, as he had succeeded in obtaining that of their father. This prince, though himself an upright and honourable man, was wrought upon the following year by similar arguments, to fill up the measure of the mockery by presenting himself with a powerful array of armed men before the hill of Paniças, as if ready to return to prison; then declaring that he had not found any one to receive him back into custody, he protested that for his part he had fulfilled every engagement, and even demanded the restitution of the hostages, and of the ransom.

Such was the first result of the negotiations of these foreign sovereigns on the subject of the events of the Revolution of the Vespers. They inclined, as I have already said, to our disadvantage, owing to the power of the Court of Rome, and because the interests of Sicily were confided to the guardianship of the King of Aragon, who was compelled to abandon them, if he would retain

his throne. James therefore instantly resumed arms, trusting to the Sicilian nation, which would have to combat for life and liberty as well as for the crown. Charles II. meanwhile, passing from Provence into Italy, did homage to the Pope for his kingdom, and was crowned at Rieti the 19th of June, 1289, to the great joy of the whole Guelf party in Italy, which thus beheld its leader restored to it. The new king immediately took horse and proceeded to his own kingdom, already torn by the fierce energy of Sicilian warfare.[1]

[1] The particulars of the negotiations were as follows:—

Honorius urged Philip the Fair to resume the enterprise attempted by his father, and to this end gave authority to the Papal Legate in France to suspend and excommunicate all ecclesiastics who should take part with Alfonso in Aragon. (Arch. of France, J, 714, 9.)

Edward had no sooner concluded the truce, in July, 1286, than he earnestly solicited its ratification by the Pope (Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. pp. 334, 345), who despatched the Archbishops of Ravenna and Morreale to treat of peace, without, however, concluding it on their own authority, so Honorius added, in so delicate and important a matter. (Ibid. pp. 340, 341. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1286, §§ 13, 14. Chron. of Parma, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 810.)

Alfonso insisting on the preliminaries of Cefalù, the Pope indignantly broke off the negotiations (Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1287, § 6; Rymer, *loc. cit.* p. 358), and granted subsidies to Philip the Fair and Charles of Valois, that they might make a show of renewing the war, which they did by some slight demonstrations in Roussillon. (Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1286, § 28; Montaner, ch. 158, 160.)

Meanwhile, the Cortes of Aragon and Catalonia had, from the

In the spring of 1289 it was resolutely attacked by James, who was further encouraged by an intrigue with the citizens of Gaeta. He crossed to Reggio, on the 15th of April, with forty galleys

commencement of Alfonso's reign, assumed the sovereign power (Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book iv. ch. 77, 78), the nation still openly disapproved the Sicilian enterprise and only supported Alfonso from dread of French domination. Hence Alfonso was induced to enter into terms, at Oléron, in Béarn, the 15th of July, 1287, in the presence of the two pontifical Legates, for the liberation of Charles. It was agreed that he should pay a ransom of 50,000 marks of silver; that the truce being proclaimed between France and Aragon, and Sicily included therein, Charles should exert himself to obtain the adhesion of the Pope and of Charles of Valois; that within this time he should bring about a peace which should be satisfactory to the Kings of Aragon and Sicily, and should be ratified by the Church; that Charles should give his three sons as hostages, with sixty nobles and burgesses of Provence; and that the governors of the fortresses of Provence should swear to give themselves up to Aragon, if within three years he neither effected the peace nor returned to captivity. (Rymer, *loc. cit.* pp. 346, 350—352; Lünig, Cod. Ital. Dipl. vol. ii. pp. 1035—1040.) Moreover, the marriage was confirmed between Alfonso and the daughter of Edward I. which had for so many years been prevented by the Pope. (Rymer, *loc. cit.* pp. 320—349.)

The inflexible policy of Rome annulled the treaty of Oléron, in spite of the death of Honorius. First the College of Cardinals, and then Nicholas IV. exhorted Edward to devise some other means for the liberation of the prisoner; admonished Alfonso, forbidding him to aid his brother; and renewed the grant of the tithes to France for the purpose of carrying on the war. (Rymer, *loc. cit.* pp. 353, 358, &c. 362, 365, 366; Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1288, §§ 11—15.)

Hence arose the treaty of Campofranco, penned by a notary of the Pope, in accordance with the terms of which Charles paid 20,000 marks, borrowing 10,000 of them from Edward, and

and lighter vessels, four hundred horse, and ten thousand foot. On the 15th of May he began to move northwards along the western coast of Cal a bria, himself advancing by land with the troops,

giving security for 7,000 more; gave only English hostages; and pledged his word that within a year he would procure a truce between France and Aragon, or would return to prison. Saragossa, and other cities and barons on both sides, guaranteed the observance of the terms. Charles swore to them, and after leaving Catalonia renewed his oath, from which the Pope afterwards absolved him. (Rymer, *loc. cit.* p. 368, &c.; Lünig, *loc. cit.* pp. 1035—1040; Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1288, §§ 16, 17.)

The doubt in which the treaty of Campofranco was involved is shown moreover by a letter of Alfonso, dated the 4th January, 1290, in which he declares that of Oléron not to be annulled, and that Charles had bound himself to procure peace for James of Sicily likewise. Charles was aided with funds for the payment of his ransom, no less by his subjects than by other Italian cities. He sojourned at first in Provence, then in the spring of 1289 passed into Italy, visited his kingdom when he concluded the truce of Gaeta, and immediately returned to France, to continue the negotiations, and go through the farce of presenting himself in Spain, as the other exasperated potentates would not hear of peace, which he sought to advance, in accordance rather with his disposition, than with his interests. (Rymer, *loc. cit.* pp. 429, 430, 435, 438, 441; Papon, Hist. Gén. de Provence, vol. iii. docum. 20; Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1289, §§ 1—11, 13—15; Chron. of Jacopo Malvecio, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xiv. ch. 103, 104, 106, 108.) The Pope's persistance in menacing Alfonso after the liberation of King Charles, to obtain that of his sons, and the absolute abandonment by him of King James of Sicily, is proved by several briefs treating of a renewal of the grant of ecclesiastical tithes to the King of France, and a bull of the 31st May, 1289, by which he gave authority to the Bishop of Orleans and to the Abbot of Cluny to re-admit into the bosom of the Church those who had been excommunicated for adherence to Peter and

the admiral by sea with the fleet, and keeping within sight of one another in order to act in concert. They occupied Sinopoli, Santa Cristina, Bubalino, Seminara, and, after several severe assaults, Monteleone also, where they disembarked the crews; Rocca, Castel Mainardo Maida, Ferolito, and Aiello. Artois wished to make head against them, but was compelled to retreat hastily into the upper provinces, first escaping with difficulty from an ambuscade, then not venturing to invest the Sicilian camp, and lastly, astounded at the daring of Calcerando and the brothers Sarriano, who, with a handful of men, attacking the centre of his camp before Squillaci, entered to reinforce the town and maintain it in its allegiance to James. Amantea, Fiume Freddo, Castel di Paola, Fuscaldo, surrendered to our arms; but a resolute resistance was offered by the castles of Belvedere and San Gineto, both held by Roger San Gineto, and strong in their position and in the valour of

Alfonso of Aragon. (Arch. of France, J, 714—18, 12, 11, 12, 12, 13, 13, 14, 15, 18, 15.)

See also for all these negotiations—Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 111, 112; Niccolò Speciale, book ii. ch. 15; Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 23, in Mur. R. I. S. vol. xi.; Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 125—130; Montaner, ch. 162, 166—169, who all give the account more or less correctly.

their lord and also of his wife, a woman of masculine spirit, who was seen on the battlements of San Gineto encouraging the garrison and with her own hand hurling down stones upon the heads of the assailants, who, emboldened by so many previous successes, advanced to storm the castle. James, leaving Belvedere, pressed the siege of this fortress with the utmost vigour, impatient to follow up his victorious course; and incensed against Roger, who, having already once fallen into the hands of the Sicilians, in the frequent skirmishes in Calabria, had promised to yield up the castle, giving two of his sons as hostages, and now denied the agreement, and defended himself valiantly.

Here a fearful tragedy struck horror even into the hearts envenomed by the obstinate conflict betwixt besiegers and besieged. The castle was on the point of surrendering for want of water, when an unexpected prospect of rain so inspirited the garrison, that, resuming the offensive, they took aim with their catapults at the very tent of King James. The admiral thereupon giving way to one of his accustomed bursts of blind and ruthless fury, ordered a scaffold to be

erected with oars in front of the tent, upon which he caused the two sons of Roger to be bound, in the sight and with the knowledge of their father. The mother became aware of it; in an agony of despair she rushed to the walls, imploring the mercy of the enemy—that of her own followers—adjuring now the King of Sicily, now her fierce consort; while the combatants stayed their blows, and all turned their tearful eyes upon Roger of San Gineto. Some say that he caused the use of the engines to be suspended; others, that with inhuman virtue he commanded the discharges to be continued. But amid this fearful struggle of human passion, the heavens had become black with clouds, a fearful tempest broke forth; the roar of the hurricane and whirlwinds of dust confounded every object of sight and sound; when a momentary respite showed the scaffolding falling to the ground in a heap, (whether overthrown by a gust of wind, or by a discharge from the castle, is unknown,) and a sharp stake entering the temple of the elder of the youths, killed him on the spot. James restored the body, with funeral honours, to the unhappy parents, freely restored to them their remaining son, and raised

the siege; for, aware that the tempest had supplied the castle with water, and that his own fleet had narrowly escaped destruction on the coast, and being moreover anxious to carry out a negotiation that was pending between him and the citizens of Gaeta, he again put to sea with all his forces to prosecute the plan of the campaign.[1]

He touched at Scalea, Castell' Abate, Capri and Procida, which were held for him; lay off Ischia; and disembarked on the 30th of June at Gaeta, putting to flight without difficulty the Count of Avellino, whose former imprisonment in Sicily returned somewhat too vividly to his recollection in this encounter. But the faction which had invited James, presuming much upon its own strength,[2] found itself greatly reduced at that period, when Charles II., backed by all the assistance of Rome, reentering the kingdom by Solmona and Venafro, directed his steps towards Naples. The Pope granted him the ecclesiastical tithes for three years,[3] and proclaimed the cross throughout the whole of Italy, which was followed

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 13.
[2] Ibid, *loc. cit.*; Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 14.
[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1289, § 13.

in troops by the Guelfs of Lombardy and Tuscany, by the men of the Abbruzzi, of Campania, and of other provinces of the kingdom, besides the feudal militias, summoned to the performance of their military service. The Saracens of Lucera likewise advanced under the banner of the Church and the command of the pontifical legate. And Neocastro with his own eyes saw women bearing arms amongst these bands, and huge mastiffs led in leashes to feast on the flesh of the excommunicated Sicilians. This countless host, compounded of such singular and various materials, was commanded by the Count of Artois,[1] in the stead of the unwarlike king, who was at Naples, intent upon calling a parliament, and seeking milder methods of reconciliation with the Sicilians, promising them pardon and reform, and that the government of Sicily should not be entrusted to the French, but to a legate of the Pope.[2]

The fame of these immense forces going before them to Gaeta, gained over all hearts to the Angevin interest; so that those who had been intriguing with James were the first to lift up

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 14.
[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1289, § 15.

their voices against him. The city was therefore carefully fortified and supplied; and the king, having in vain attempted negotiations, after a few days began to menace force. He himself, with the horse and the flower of his host, encamped upon a height, while the rest of the infantry pitched their tents in the plain, and both camps were defended with entrenchments in anticipation of coming danger. This siege continued long, amid vigorous assaults as vigorously repulsed, and mutual discharges from the engines; while our forces occupied and sacked Mola di Gaeta, and swept the country from the Garigliano on the one side, to Fondi on the other, wasting and plundering the lordships of Nola, Maranola, and Tragetto. But meanwhile, Gaeta, though severely injured, was unsubdued.

Before long the crusading host made its appearance, rushed in impetuous masses to storm the Sicilian entrenchments; and, being repulsed with much bloodshed, proceeded likewise to encamp at a short distance. Thus, both Gaeta and King James's forces were placed in a state of siege; the former between the fleet and the army of the Sicilians, the latter between the town and the

hostile camp, all mutually injuring each other by the discharges of their engines. In the open country the struggle was fiercer, skirmishes taking place daily between our people and the Saracens, the French, or the Tuscan crusaders; while it frequently happened that the mastiffs let loose against the Sicilians appeased their hunger with the flesh of those who had brought them as auxiliaries to the war. Leucio, whose name was rendered glorious by his achievements in 1282, and Bonfiglio, both Messinese, signalised themselves in these encounters, and in a more serious engagement, Matthew di Termini one day broke the serried phalanx of the enemy by the discharges of his engines. It seemed impossible, that ten thousand men should hold out so resolutely, between a hostile town and an army of such strength. The valour of the Sicilian host won for it the admiration, and even the hearts of its enemies; while astonished and perplexed, all Italy awaited the catastrophe.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 14. Montaner, ch. 164, 165, 169. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 134. The extent of the damage suffered by the city of Gaeta may be inferred from the immunity from royal taxes, and even from ecclesiastical tithes, granted to it soon after in compensation and reward. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1290, §§ 24, 25; and Villani, *loc. cit.*

But, meanwhile, the violation of the treaties of Oléron and Campofranco, obviously in consequence of the commands of the Pope, gave umbrage to Edward of England; and for the further discomfiture of Nicholas, lamentable tidings arrived from the East of the expulsion of the Christians from Syria, and the taking of Tripoli by the Sultan, accompanied by fearful acts of cruelty, while the scanty remnant of the faithful besieged in Acre implored succour from the West. Edward, therefore, unable longer to endure the sight of the cross displayed against Christians in Europe, while it was trampled under foot by the Infidels in Asia, despatched Odo de Grandisson to convey to the Pope a message of bitter reproach, enjoining him to put an end to so great a scandal, on pain of the indignation of all Christian princes. Nicholas humbled himself before the force of truth; he sent, together with the English ambassador, a messenger to King Charles, who had repaired to the camp at Gaeta on the 18th of August. Charles was not a man to refuse the cessation of hostilities which he had so repeatedly promised, and these negotiations, added to the difficulty, which appeared equally great on either

side, of bringing the struggle to a successful termination, speedily led to the conclusion of a truce.

Orators went backwards and forwards between the camps to treat of peace; and Neocastro relates on this occasion, that the French knights entering the tents of the Sicilian king, and beholding them glittering with swords, lances, and warlike adornments of every description, and seeing the well-constructed engines, and the strategic art displayed in the entrenchment of the camp, recalled with chagrin the apartments of their own Charles II., rather resembling the cell of a priest, and filled with books of prophecy, mosaics, and dalmaticas, in the stead of coats of mail. With regard to the main point of the treaty, the Angevin orators harping on their favourite string of the cession of Sicily, Loria, in the presence of King James, roughly replied, that he would not give up the island though all the world were to join in a crusade against it. At length, in August, 1289, in place of the peace, which could not be brought about, a truce was concluded between Sicily and Naples, to continue until All Saints day, of the year 1291, upon the following conditions: that both parties should lay down their arms, both by sea and land,

excepting in the Calabrias, in the neighbourhood of Castell' Abate, and in a few other places; that James might furnish provisions and supplies by sea to all the towns occupied by him, but not bring his fleet before those which retained their allegiance to Charles; that in cases of infraction of the truce, the damage should be proved before the magistrates of the injured party, or before John de Montfort on the side of King Charles, and Roger Loria on that of King James, and that restitution should be made by the sovereign of the offending party within forty days. Amongst these articles it is worthy of remark, as showing with what undisciplined bands Sicily gained such numerous victories, that the "almugaveri" were excepted from the truce, King James declining to be answerable for them; he, however, promised not to favour their incursions, nor to send with them any of his own officers and mercenaries. This truce excited the extreme indignation of King Charles's barons; who, finding themselves now in the proportion of ten to one, hoped at length to make themselves amends for the defeats they had experienced in the Sicilian war. According to the terms agreed upon, Charles was the first to

raise his camp; James did so three days later, and embarking with all his forces, on the 30th of August, took port at Messina on the 7th of September, after having suffered great stress of weather off Cape Palinuro. Imitating the braggadocio of Charles's barons, some Neapolitan historians have since asserted that, had hostilities been continued, the small Sicilian force must inevitably have been overwhelmed; but the Guelf Villani acknowledges the treaty to have been of great service to the kingdom of Naples; and Charles himself, less given to vaunting than his followers, a few months later, gloried only in the fact, that James had in vain attempted the conquest of Gaeta. The same inference may be drawn from the warlike attitude maintained by the Sicilian captains during the negotiations; from the fact, that James remained master of the greater part of the Calabrias, besides several towns, occupied here and there throughout the mainland provinces; and from the other honourable terms, the conclusion of which closed this daring expedition against the furthest extremity of the enemy's territory.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 14. Montaner, ch. 169. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1289, §§ 65, 67. Gio.

In the two succeeding years, during which regular warfare with Naples was interrupted, the truce was badly observed; for men were accustomed to have arms constantly in their hands, and to injure and plunder each other mutually; so that, sometimes from covetousness, sometimes by way of reprisals, or from the impossibility of restraining the "almugaveri," captures by sea and assaults by land continued on both sides, and, as it appears on the whole, to the advantage of the Sicilians, who made a traffic of their prisoners, and sometimes threatened, and even effected, important enterprises by sea.[1] For these, the admiral himself paved the way, by complaining, on one occasion, of the infraction of the treaty,

Villani, book vii. ch. 134, who states our army to have been driven back from Calabria by the Count of Artois.

A diploma of the 27th Dec. 1290, in the Royal Archives of Naples, Register of Charles II. marked 1291, A, pp. 183, 184, gives the conditions of the truce, concerning which historians are silent, recording only its duration.

Pope Boniface afterwards reproached Charles for the conclusion of this hasty truce, without his knowledge or that of Gherardo. Both of these were then with the Angevin host as papal legates, and it is strange that one of them would have opposed that which the Pope desired. Brief of the 9th Jan. 1300, in Raynald Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 15.

[1] See numerous diplomas in the Archives of Naples, Register of Charles II.

and adding, that these were not words spoken at random; that his speech did not belie his intentions; and that, therefore, his adversaries might be warned that he would regulate his observance of the truce upon their own. At the same time the Sicilian arms reaped glory in the East also. Loria went with the fleet to escort back to his own country the Arab Prince Margano, who promised a ransom, but had no sooner disembarked on Mahometan soil, than, riding to Tolometa with a band of Sicilians, he sought to ensnare them; but they, extricating themselves with signal valour from the hands of the barbarians, and compelling the king to deliver the money, returned with it to Messina. About the same time this city was visited by John de Greilly, the Seneschal of Edward I., who had dealt so honourably with King Peter at Bordeaux, and who now came from Acre to solicit the aid of the Church. James received him with distinguished honours, and gave him seven Sicilian galleys to do battle in those parts for the faith.[1]

At this period the negotiations for peace be-

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 113. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 14. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1290, § 7.

came more important as proceeding from him who alone could bring them to a conclusion, namely, Pope Nicholas, whom fear of the sultan's arms had suddenly converted to milder views. Neocastro does not attribute the change to so simple a cause, but relates that, soon after the proclamation of the truce, one Geronimo, a decrepid hermit from Mount Etna, presented himself before the Pontiff, to reveal to him the admonitions of Heaven in favour of Sicily, and won him over by the force of his apostolic words, which are powerfully rendered in the pages of the Sicilian chronicler. Whatever may have been his reasons, Nicholas despatched a Catalan friar, Raymond by name, to the King of Sicily, to hold out hopes to him of the favour of the Holy See, if he would hasten to the assistance of Acre with the Sicilian fleet. James replied, that if he were recognised King of Sicily, and a truce for five years granted, with supplies of money, he would proceed to the Holy Land with three hundred horse, ten thousand foot, and thirty galleys. Loria (to such power had he attained!) promised at the same time that he would add, at his own expense, ten galleys, a hundred horse, and two

thousand foot. But this unwonted benignity on the part of the Pope was otherwise interpreted in Sicily. Pandolf di Falcone, and other Sicilians, experienced in state affairs, rose up to dissuade the king, reminding him that Pope Innocent had spread a similar snare for the Emperor Frederick; and that, by carrying the arms of Sicily into the East, he would leave the island a defenceless prey in the hands of the enemy. James, thus admonished, sent to the Pope John of Procida, a fit match for the politicians of Rome; who, assigning plausible reasons for this change of purpose, obtained the consent of Nicholas that the expedition to the Holy Land should be deferred until the conclusion of a stable peace between the Church and King James. The Pope, however, chose to refer the question to the negotiations for a general peace, which were to be carried on in Provence, between Aragon, France, the Church, Naples, Majorca, and Charles of Valois, by the mediation of Edward of England;[1] and which were actively urged, in order to obtain the liberation of his sons by Charles the Lame, who, after

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112.

the conclusion of the truce at Gaeta, had quitted his insulted kingdom to procure by negotiation what he had been unable to accomplish by the sword, and remained long in France in the guise of a distressed supplicant, bargaining with Charles of Valois, importuning Philip the Fair, and frequently requesting loans of money from the latter.

Thus all hopes of reconciliation vanished; for this general peace ended just as the treaties of Oléron and Campofranco had indicated. The Court of Rome, either finding itself unable to outwit King James, or reverting with greater interest to the affairs of Italy than to those of Syria, would not listen to the expedient devised by James, who offered to pay tribute for Sicily;[1] and renewed the preparations for war against Aragon,[2] of which the Cortes, ill pleased to find themselves constantly exposed to danger for the sake of foreign interests, in September, 1289, had sent ambassadors to Sicily to come to an understanding with Procida, Loria, Alamanno, and Calcerando, who guided the counsels of King James,

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 114.
[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1290, § 21.

and to ask for twenty Sicilian galleys to be sent to Catalonia, since it was for the sake of Sicily that that kingdom was to be again plunged into the miseries of strife. On the renewed rumours of war therefore, discord broke out between the king and the cortes; the latter forbidding Alfonso to enter into any negotiations for peace on his own sole authority, and insisting that it should be treated for by twelve commissioners of the nation;[2] and Alfonso yielding to necessity and weariness of contention, the slender thread was broken on which depended the interests of James. A congress was called in Provence, to which the Pope sent the cardinals Gherardo of Parma, and Benedict Gaetani,[3] in order that, between the authority of the purple and the ability of the individuals, everything might be regulated according to their pleasure. At first James was either enjoined to send his orators, or a hope was held out to him that they would be admitted; but when,

[1] Diplomas of the 5th and 7th Sept. 1289, in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. pp. 429, 430. Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 117.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 455, diplomas of the 4th and 19th January, 1290; confirmed by Montaner, ch. 172, and Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book iv. ch. 120, &c.

[3] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 112. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1290, §§ 18—20.

in June 1290, he despatched Gilbert of Castelletto and Bertram de Cannellis, the King of Aragon sent word to them to refrain from coming to disturb his prospects of peace, which, once concluded by him, would be more easily obtained by James also.[1] Meanwhile the cardinal legates on the 19th of August, 1290, had come to an agreement with Charles II. and Philip the Fair, that peace being established with Aragon, if Sicily should still remain contumacious, the King of France should continue in the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical tithes granted him for three years, and should have them for two years longer, on condition of paying the Pope four hundred thousand *livres tournoises* for the expenses of the war with Sicily, to be reduced to three hundred thousand if the island were reconquered within the space of a year and two months. Failing the conclusion of peace with Alfonso, the King of France was to give only two hundred thousand *livres*, and was to receive assistance against Aragon from the Pope, and also from Charles II., should the latter succeed in recovering Sicily, in

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 114.

which quarter the war was to commence. It is thus manifest what sort of peace was reserved for James, nor even at that time was any one ignorant of it. King Charles proceeded to hold a congress with the twelve commissioners of King Alfonso and of the Cortes of Aragon, two legates from the Pope being present, and four orators from England. They assembled at Tarascon, and the treaty was signed at Brignolles, the 19th of February, 1291.

By it Alfonso humbled himself so far as to promise that he would implore the pardon of the Pope, first by ambassadors, and within ten months, in person also; that he would go to the wars in the Holy Land; restore to Charles hostages, money, and prisoners of war; recall all his subjects from Sicily, and withdraw all assistance from James. In return, Charles bound himself to procure the assent of Philip the Fair and Charles of Valois; the Pope engaging to revoke the concession of the kingdom of Aragon to the latter, and readmit it to the bosom of the Church; and a door was left open for the speedy adhesion to the peace of the Kings of Majorca and Castile, if such

an event could be brought about.[1] On the following day the cardinals intimated the conclusion of the treaty to the Courts of France and Rome.[2] Thus much is to be found in the diplomas. Neocastro mentions in addition to the above stipulations: the recognition of the suzerainty of Alfonso over Majorca; the agreement for an annual tribute of thirty ounces of gold to be paid by Aragon to the Court of Rome; and the regulation of the amount of forces with which Alfonso was to proceed to Rome, and afterwards to the Holy Land, and to Sicily to bring about the submission of James even by force of arms if need be. Every obstacle was then removed to his marriage with the daughter of Edward I., and in order to obtain the renunciation of Valois, another nuptial alliance was soon after concluded by King Charles, who bestowed upon him his own daughter Margaret, with the counties of Anjou and Maine for her dower.[3]

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 501, &c. diplomas of the 19th Feb. and 12th April, 1291. The original treaty of the 13th Feb. is to be found in the Archives of France, J, 587, 16.

[2] Rymer, *loc. cit.* p. 504, diploma of the 20th Feb. 1291.

[3] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 114. Montaner, ch. 173, with nume-

Alfonso reaped nothing but the disgrace of this treaty, which he increased by furnishing naval supplies to Genoa for the armament of sixty galleys in the pay of King Charles, who having gained courage to renew the attack upon Sicily, went to Genoa in March, with the two cardinal legates, to solicit the assistance of her merchant warriors.[1] At the moment when the prospects of Alfonso appeared the most brilliant, himself at the age of twenty-seven, strong and robust, his kingdom firmly secured, his marriage at hand with the beautiful daughter of Edward I., he was carried off by an illness of three days' duration on the 18th of June of the same year, before any one article of the treaty had been carried into effect. By his death without issue, the crown devolved upon James, King of Sicily, so that fortune at one blow dissipated the plans of those

rous errors. Two diplomas in the Archives of France, J, 511, 7, given the — December, 1289, and the 18th August, 1290, contain the conditions of the marriage; the principal of which is that the two counties should be made over to Charles of Valois, even in the event of the death of Margaret, on condition of his giving up his claim upon Aragon. In case of the death of Valois before that of his wife, she was to enjoy the usufruct, and Philip the Fair the possession of the counties.

[1] Annali Genovesi, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. vi. p. 600.

by whom the peace had been so artfully devised, and smiled upon Sicily in order eventually to prepare for her more troublous times and greater glory. James, on the first intimation of the tidings, hastily convoked a parliament at Messina, which he addressed in loving terms, and as is wont to be the case at parting, swore eternal affection when he took leave of the people at Messina, Palermo, and Trapani, whence he embarked on the 12th of July. He left his brother Frederick as his vicegerent, a powerful fleet, important conquests in Calabria, and a glorious reputation. For during the eight years that he had governed the state in person, first as viceroy and then as king, if on some occasions he had shown himself treacherous and cruel, he had atoned for it by the general mildness of his rule, the liberality of his legislation, his warlike valour, and adventurous enterprises against the enemies of Sicily. Moreover, under his government the nation had recovered both wealth and prosperity, being relieved from the pressure of taxation and of the tyranny which, crushing all energy, induces hopeless lethargy; while confidence had been restored by the security afforded

by efficacious laws, and by the spirit of the revolution animating every branch of the state. Such were the reasons for which the Sicilians affectionately bade good speed to the prince, who but a few years later was to merit their bitterest maledictions.[1]

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 114—117. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 17. Montaner, ch. 174—176. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 48, where we find written: "Sub cujus regis Jacobi dominio, omnes existentes in Sicilia de bono in melius multiplicantes dilati sunt," &c.

The reputation in which King James was held for his defence of Sicily, is gracefully touched upon by Amanieu des Escas, in a Provençal poem, in which the troubadour exalts the fame of his love above that of the lady of

> ". . . . . Rey Jacme d'Arago,
> Que reys es dels Cecilias
> Ses grat de Frans' e de Romas."
>
> *Raynouard, Choix, &c.* t. v. p. 24.

The title of Frederick, Infant of the illustrious King of Aragon, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Sicily, is to be read in several diplomas. One for the Church of Cefalù given at Palermo the 30th Dec. 7th Ind. (1294)—of which the MS. is in the library of Palermo—is published by Testa, Vita di Federigo, docum. 11, as well as another of the 24th Jan. 5th Ind. (1292,) ibid. docum. 15.

CHAPTER XIV.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JAMES IN ARAGON.—CONFIRMATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN SICILY AND GENOA.—REASONS OF THE SLACKENING OF THE WAR.—FEATS OF ARMS OF ROGER LORIA IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES AND IN GREECE.—JAMES INCLINES TO PEACE.—PUBLIC OPINION IN SICILY; PATRIOTS; FREDERICK OF ARAGON; SERVILE FACTION.—SEPTEMBER, 1291, TO JANUARY, 1292.

PETER desired the separation of the two kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, which both on account of the wide expanse of sea which divided them, of the liberal temper of the inhabitants, and their civil institutions, could with difficulty be governed conjointly, nor would either have submitted to the dominion of the other. For this reason, he called Alfonso to succeed him on the throne of Aragon, James on that of Sicily; the former by his will made at Port Fangos before the occupation of the island; the latter in the parliament of Messina.[1] When on his death-bed, in order to avoid giving any fresh pretext for excommuni-

[1] See vol. i. ch. 8, vol. ii. ch. 9.

cation, he did not reiterate his bequest of the two crowns, which had been so fiercely disputed by the Pope; but it seems probable that he may have given some solemn injunction by word of mouth that they should always remain separate.[1] For on the 10th of March, 1286, Alfonso, then in the flower of youth, and at the commencement of his reign, and therefore rather for the purpose of carrying out the political arrangements of his father, than from any probable anticipation of his own death, declared James his heir on condition that he should leave Sicily to Frederick, and placed Frederick next in order of succession to the throne of Aragon, in case James should prefer to retain the island kingdom, or should die without issue, in which contingency Frederick was similarly bound to resign Sicily to Peter, the youngest of the brothers.[2] But James, who when dominion was in

[1] We are led to this supposition by the wills both of Alfonso and of James, to be quoted hereafter, as well as by the varying language of historians concerning the final dispositions of Peter. See Montaner, ch. 185; Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 124: "Non enim quod pater decrevit in ultimis," &c.; and Niccolò Speciale, book ii. ch. 7, 17: "Quod si testamentum patris in suis viribus consistebat ex tunc regnare debuisset in Sicilia Fridericus."

[2] Diploma in Testa, Vita di Federigo II. di Sicilia, docum. 3. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book iv. ch. 120.

question set all bounds of moderation at defiance, deferred the separation of the two crowns to the event of his own death without issue;[1] and having quitted Sicily, refused obedience yet more openly to these conditions, which, he argued, had not been handed down to them as written law by their father, and which Alfonso had no authority to impose. Thus retaining the sovereignty of the island, he protested at his coronation at Saragossa, the 24th September, 1291, that he succeeded to the throne of Aragon by right of birth, not in accordance with the testament of Alfonso.[2] He secured himself upon it by granting franchises and guarantees the most liberal and extensive that the cortes could require; by betrothing himself to the daughter of Sancho, king of Castile, a child of nine years of age; and by concluding, in November of the same year, a truce with this powerful neighbour, who had been a chief instigator of the civil disturbances of Aragon.[3] He

[1] Will of King James, given at Messina the 15th July, 1291, in Bofarull, vol. ii. p. 251, quoted by Buchon, edition of Montaner, 1840, p. 388.

[2] Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book iv. ch. 123.

[3] Ibid. book iv. ch. 124. Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 118. Mariana, History of Spain, book xiv. ch. 15.

moreover checked private feuds, and destroyed the robbers that infested the country.[1] He carried his political intrigues so far as to ask assistance in money from the Soldan of Egypt, to whom he sent Romeo di Maramondo and Raymond Alamanno to vaunt his victories and his power, exceeding that of all the Christian princes of Spain.[2] And thus far he derided the efforts of the Court of Rome, which opposed itself by words rather than deeds to his assumption of the kingdom of Aragon.[3]

Equally fruitless were the efforts to stir up Genoa to take an active part against Sicily, which had been made, as recorded above, from the very commencement of the war, resumed by Charles the Lame after the conclusion of peace with Alfonso, and were now more pressingly urged by the Pope himself.[4] But Genoa at that time cared

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book iv. ch. 125. Montaner, ch. 177, 178.

[2] Diploma of the 10th August, 1292, in Capmany, Memorias, &c. vol. iv. docum. 8.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1291, §§ 53, 55. Another bull of Nicholas, given the 13th Dec. 1291, gave power to the Bishop of Carcassonne, and to the abbot of St. Germains, to readmit the excommunicated Aragonese to the bosom of the Church, in order to further the cause of Charles of Valois.

[4] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1291, § 59; and 1293, §§ 15, 16.

nothing for the authority of Rome in things temporal; and as for France, if she desired to be on friendly terms with her for the advantage of commerce, the same interests urged her to preserve peace with Aragon and Sicily; nor did she like the prospect of a struggle with their united and victorious fleets, while she had, at the same time, to contend with the rival maritime republics of Italy. The Guelfs of Genoa, indeed, postponing, as is the wont of all factions, public interests to the passions of party, had leagued themselves with the Angevin king; and privateers, under colour of attacking the Pisans, extended their depredations to the Catalans, who sailed in company with them;[1] while the interruption of the trade between Genoa and Sicily, which occurred at that time, gave evidence of the peril of impending war, which mercantile penetration is so swift to foresee. But when, after the awakening of these suspicions, vague rumours reached Messina of a fleet equipped at Genoa, corsairs issuing from her port, and prizes captured in the waters of Lilibeo; all Sicily was troubled by them, and deplored the absence of the admiral, who remained in Catalonia with

[1] Annals of Genoa, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 601.

the king,[1] gratifying his arrogance by assuming the foremost rank at Court, riding accompanied by a numerous band of followers, and overcoming in the tournaments the noblest swords of Spain.[2]

Frederick, or those experienced counsellors who had remained with him at the Sicilian Court, succeeded in preventing the war from breaking out. They sent an orator to Genoa, accredited publicly by sound arguments, but privately by the influence of the Dorias, Spinolas, and the entire Ghibeline party, who in the municipal councils recalled the ancient friendship between Genoa, Aragon, and Sicily, and the offences committed against the Republic by the ambition and avarice of the House of Anjou; admonishing them not to imagine that, exchanging friends and enemies, they could conquer the island at a blow, or provoke a war without the ruin of their commerce; and to think on the hostile flags of Pisa and Venice, which might now find new allies. The obvious interests of the Republic outweighed all the intrigues of the Pope; and other orators having been despatched with the same object by the King of Aragon, it was resolved, that, the

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 119. [2] Montaner, ch. 179.

friendship with James being confirmed, the municipality should abstain from every act of hostility against Sicily, and that private individuals should be prohibited from taking up arms against her under any pretext whatsoever.[1] To prove their sincerity, and also from respect to the admiral of Sicily, whose prompt vengeance they dreaded, in the following year a vessel laden with grain for Pisa, which had been captured by some Genoese merchants, on the old plea of searching for Pisan merchandise, was forthwith restored to him, the municipality adding to it an indemnity of 2,200 livres, and sending, moreover, ambassadors to Frederick, to assure him and Loria of the good faith of Genoa, which was afterwards maintained, notwithstanding the seductions of liberal promises, and the influence of an embassy of many knights sent by King Charles, with the Count of Artois and the papal legates, towards the close of the same year, 1292; for the citizens, although divided by factions so fierce as within two years to come to open violence and bloodshed, now with one accord refused to enter

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 119. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1292, §§ 14—16. Capmany, Memorias, &c. tom. iv. docum. 6.

into any league with the King of Naples, promising only to observe a strict neutrality; whereupon the ambassadors, having failed of their object, departed in displeasure.[1]

In the East, meanwhile, the interests of Christianity were menaced with utter ruin. In the spring of 1291, Acre fell before the arms of the Soldan of Egypt; the slaughter of the Christians and savage triumph of the Infidels[2] excited the lamentations and wrath of all Christendom; and universal were the reflections cast upon the Court of Rome, for the blood and treasure expended against Sicily in the sacred name of the cross. For this cause the Pope was compelled to raise his voice against the Mahometans, and to be silent for a while concerning the Sicilians.[3] He was restrained, moreover, by a secret inclination towards the Ghibeline party, and by his desire for the aggrandizement of the House of Colonna, an object to him of far more immediate interest than the remote restoration of Sicily and of the Holy Land. Moreover, the Guelf party had much

[1] Ann. of Genoa, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. vi. pp. 603—605.
[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 120. Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 145.
[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1291, §§ 56, 58, 59.

declined in Italy, owing to the victories of James and of the Sicilians;[1] and the kingdom of Naples, deserted by fortune, drained of its monetary resources, restricted in territory by the occupation of the Calabrias, governed by an unwarlike monarch, and exhausted by such protracted efforts, could ill maintain the war on its own account. Sicily had no inducement to prosecute it, for she beheld herself internally secure, and had no desire further to extend her dominions on the mainland. Hence, during these two years, although the truce of Gaeta had expired, little was attempted or effected in the way of warlike achievements. The turbulent passions of the Calabrian feudataries occasionally caused the loss of one town, or the acquisition of another. Blasco Alagona, James's captain, who having occupied Montalto, and defeated and taken prisoner Guidone of Primerano, a celebrated warrior, was about to attempt some more important enterprise, returned suddenly to Catalonia, upon an accusation of fraud upon the treasury.[2] And even the admiral himself, having

[1] Gio. Villani, book vii. ch. 119, 121, 151.
[2] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 18.

returned to Sicily, and going forth openly to war, failed to conduct it with his usual energy.

Thirty galleys having been equipped in the port of Messina, Loria, informed by his spies that no armaments were being carried on in those of Naples and Brindisi, sailed in June 1292 for Cotrone, whence William l'Estendard, with several hundred horse, was on the point of directing an attack against our conquests in Calabria. Perceiving the Sicilian fleet, he hastened to place himself with his horsemen in ambush at Le Castella, under Cape Rizzuto; but the admiral, taking with him a small band of horse, sent the mass of his followers round by another road, and thus the French ambuscade was attacked by them suddenly on both flanks. L'Estendard, marked out for death by the covetousness of the Sicilians, received three wounds, but was saved by the fleetness of his horse. That of the admiral falling with him at the passage of a bridge in the pursuit, gave the enemy so much breathing space, that they succeeded in retiring from the field with no great slaughter; but many fell into the hands of the victors, and amongst them one Richard of Santa Sofia, who, having been placed in charge of

Cotrone by King James, had delivered it over to the Angevins, on which account he was now put to death.

Loria, having by this skirmish secured the honour of the fleet equipped by Sicily against her enemies, steered for the Archipelago under pretext of combating the French feudataries of the Morea and the mercenaries maintained there by the Court of Naples, but in reality to satiate himself with his accustomed depredations,[1] leading the way for those adventurers, who, after the close of the Sicilian war, were destined by their valour and rapacity to be the scourge of Greece. He wasted, or exacted tribute from, Corfù, Candia, Scio, and Malvasia, under pretence that they had afforded aid to the French; from Scio he carried off a large quantity of mastic, and from Malvasia, besides much booty, also the archbishop, from whom he afterwards obtained a considerable ransom; then coasting the Morea, he visited Coron and Chiarenza, having first, at Modon, gallantly combated the Greeks, who had sought

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 121—123. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 19. Montaner, ch. 159, 180, with some variations and anachronisms.

to ensnare him. Returning to Messina, with more of booty than of real glory, he learnt that our merchant vessels were harassed by the corsairs of Positano and Amalfi; whereupon he concerted with Don Frederick to visit their coasts in the spring with forty galleys and two thousand light infantry, to burn the towns and shipping, and entrenching themselves on some height, to waste and sack the whole province; but the design transpired at Naples, and was completely set aside by the negotiations for peace.[1]

James now found himself in Aragon subjected to the same influences that had controlled Alfonso; and Sicily had for the second time to experience the bitterness of foreign domination. Ten years of disastrous warfare had given proof to the enemy, that if Sicily could be conquered, she could only be so in Spain. They therefore resumed the negotiations broken off by the death of Alfonso, and to which the King of Aragon was still compelled to listen by the privileged position of Charles of Valois, by the arms of France and the arts of Rome; to all of which were added the intrigues of Sancho, King of Castile, who, to

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 123, 124.

avoid being placed between the two hostile powers of France and Aragon, endeavoured to bring about a treaty of peace, both openly and secretly by means of his partisans in the latter kingdom. James, warned by the resolute expression of the will of the cortes and of the whole nation,[1] that he would not be permitted to retain both kingdoms, meditated resigning Sicily, the cause of so many troubles, and which was not more calculated than Aragon to yield him either obedience or revenue, owing to the limits imposed upon the royal authority, those within which the imposts and exactions were restricted, and the labour and cost involved in its defence. The death of Pope Nicholas in 1292, the war which broke forth in the following year between France and England, and the length of time during which the papal throne was vacant, deferred, but did not prevent the conclusion of peace, which was rendered compulsory by internal influence in the kingdom of Aragon; and James acceded to it

[1] This may be gathered from all the authors quoted in this chapter, and more expressly from the surname of "Queen of the Holy Peace," bestowed by the Aragonese and Catalans upon Blanche, daughter of Charles II., when, in accordance with the terms of this long-desired peace, she became the wife of James. See Montaner, ch. 182.

the more willingly owing to the promises held out to him of money and territory, and above all to the hope of retaining the conquests he had wrested from his uncle, James, King of Majorca. He conducted the treaty with the secresy, self-interestedness, and dissimulation which belonged to his character; so that some deemed he had outwitted the Angevins by transferring the crown of Sicily from his own head to that of his brother Frederick; but the contrary was perhaps the case; and certain it is, that as frequently happens, he came forth from the crooked paths in which he had involved himself, with much shame and little profit.

This time treachery had to struggle against the fortitude of a nation, which derived from its new liberty not anarchy and discord, but pride and energy; and thus treachery lost the day. Sicily, after her deed of successful daring, was conscious of her powers. Amongst her people were many lofty spirits, owing to the civil franchises she had

[1] The secret reasons which induced James, after he became King of Aragon, to betray or abandon Sicily by leaguing himself with her enemies, may be gathered from all the authorities quoted in the present chapter; and especially from Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 1—10.

obtained, to her unwonted material prosperity, to the force of her arms of which so many proofs had been given, and to the various talents and powers called into exercise in state affairs when they become the common property of all. These elements of political vigour existed rather in the cities than in the baronage, on account of the part taken by them in 1282, of the amount of forces furnished by them for ten long years to the army and to the fleet, and of the activity and ability of the municipal councils. The cities, accordingly, were foremost in the change of government which was now maturing itself; they were joined by the greater part of the barons, who were not as yet turned away from the cause of Sicily by the prejudices of class; and thus the bulk of the nation, clinging to the liberties conquered at the time of the Vespers, and abhorring the dominion of the House of Anjou, and of the Court of Rome, presented a powerful obstacle to the plans of James, who found another equally insurmountable, in his own brother, the Infant Don Frederick.

Frederick came to Sicily when scarcely beyond the age of childhood; here he learnt to excel not only in the use of arms and in every warlike

exercise, but also in the study of letters, then held in high esteem amongst the Sicilians, and for which his taste was such, that he himself wrote verses in the Provençal language, and was the friend of Dante Alighieri, before the indignant spirit of the proud Ghibeline contemptuously accused him of poltroonery. Full of the fire of youth, handsome and vigorous in person, of quick intelligence, and courteous manners, gracious and kind to all, and the brother of a king, he was adored by the people, whose passions are excitable as those of a woman; and even the most sober judgment might have augured well of him on beholding the moderation and justice with which he filled the place of the sovereign, and the zeal with which he sought to advance the prosperity of the country, which under his rule enjoyed peace and abundance.[1] Political necessity, of which a species of instinctive presentiment is frequently

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 118. I give full credence to the words of this historian concerning the admirable government of Frederick during his lieutenancy, for it was for his own interest to show himself just and zealous for the public weal; and that he was so, is proved by the conduct of the people in raising him to the throne, and by his own acts at the commencement of his reign. For the verses of Frederick of Aragon, see Quadrio,

felt even before it is clearly comprehended by the understanding, caused Frederick assiduously to cultivate these advantages, and rendered him so much the dearer to the people, leading them mutually to hope in each other, and bringing them gradually to such a relative position as perhaps neither had at first dreamed of. Thus the patriotic party in Sicily gathered itself around Frederick, hoping to maintain the intent of the revolution of the Vespers without putting down either the monarchy or the Aragonese dynasty, and by this means itself acquired greater strength and consistency.

There was only one faction from which James could hope for support against this inclination of the bulk of the people. On the breaking forth of the war of the Vespers, the exiles from the main- and assembled under our banners, especially after the accession of King Peter, seeking fortune for themselves, a vent for their hatred against the House of Anjou, and if possible a termination to

"Storia e Ragione d' ogniPoesia;" who is, however, in error in attributing the verses to Frederick III. of Sicily, called "The Simple," and not to Frederick II. See also Docum. III. at the end of this work.

their painful banishment. These exiles effected much by their intrigues in the wars in Calabria, and contributed greatly to excite the Sicilians themselves (as in the massacre of the prisoners of Messina in 1284), from fear that the revolution should slacken in its course. But they clung less to Sicily than to the king, who they hoped would obtain possession of their native land, and who in the meantime bestowed upon them fiefs and employments. Similar advantages were enjoyed in Sicily by a still greater number of Catalans and Aragonese, creatures of the court, who equally with the Apulians were odious to the islanders, from jealousy of the prizes usurped by both. As renegades are never wanting, however, a few Sicilians joined them; and it was with this servil faction that James hoped to negotiate the betrayal of Sicily; holding out promises to some of reintegration in their Apulian possessions without the loss of those newly acquired in Sicily; to others, threats of spoliation of their revenues in Spain; and alluring all with promises, caresses, and guilty hopes under the mask of pious words Those to whom the name of John of Procida is

familiar from the historical romances which represent him as the author of the Vespers, will be astonished to find him at the head of this faction, and even intriguing with the King of Naples himself, whether with or without the knowledge and consent of James, is not known. But besides the statements of our historians, which exhibit him a few years after in open opposition to Frederick and the Sicilian patriots, and the documents concerning the restitution of his property in the kingdom of Naples, which was expressly stipulated for between James and Charles II.,[1] there exists, as a lasting record of his shame, a despatch of Charles to the Seneschal of Provence, given the 20th of March, 1293, commanding him to release and forward to the Neapolitan court the Sicilian

[1] See a diploma of Charles II. given at Naples the 29th of September, 1300; published by Buscemi, Vita di Giovanni di Procida, docum. viii. taken from the Royal Archives of Naples, where we read concerning John of Procida:—"Sane per conventiones inhitas super reformatione pacis inter nos et magnificum Principem dominum Jacobum Aragonum regem illustrem, nunc filium nostrum carissimum, tunc hostem publicum, nobisque molestum tamquam per duces belli inter alia fuit conventum: Quod Joannes de Procita rebus tunc humanis perfruens ad certa bona stabilia in regno Sicilie que per culpe contagium contra majestatem, &c. . . . . perdiderat restitueretur in integrum ex nostro beneficio principali, &c."

Peter of Salerno, sent to Charles by Procida, and taken prisoner at Marseilles.[1] Thus this celebrated name tested by the evidence of history, in these days so strong and copious, is stripped of the vaunted glory of the first conspiracy, and retains only the disgrace of this second one undertaken against Sicily.

[1] Diploma of the 20th of March, 1293, quoted in the Discorsi di D. Ferrante della Marra, Naples, 1641. p. 155. The accuracy of Marra leaves us no room to doubt the exactness of the quotation, but the original diploma exists no longer, the registe which contained it having been destroyed in one of the insurrections which have caused such injury to the Archives of Naples. It may be suspected that it was for this purpose that (as we learn from other diplomas quoted by Marra in the same place) Walter Caracciolo and Manfred Tomacello were despatched to Sicily, under pretext of consulting John of Procida for serious illnesses under which they were labouring, as if physicians were entirely wanting in the kingdom of Naples. From some other diplomas besides, similar practices in Sicily may be inferred.

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